THE

HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR

IN

GERMANY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN

OF

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR W. MILLER, OLD BOND STREET.

1799.

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HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR.

BOOK III.

THE glorious victory of Gustavus Adolphus had effected a great change in the conduct of that monarch, and in the opinion which both his friends and his enemies entertained of him. He had confronted himself with the greatest general of the age, and by the force of his tactics and Swedish valour, conquered the Imperial troops, the best in Europe. From that instant he relied upon himself, and self-reliance has ever been the parent of great actions. Had not Alexander's impetuosity triumphed upon the Granicus, never had that conqueror overturned the Persian empire. Bolder and more dexterous measures were henceforward observed in the operations of the Swedish king; greater resolutions, even under unfavourable circum-

 stances,

ſtances, more defiance towards his adverſaries, greater mildneſs to his friends, and forbearance towards his enemies. His native courage was alſo augmented by his piety. He readily confounded his own cauſe with that of Heaven; and beheld in Tilly's defeat the work of Divine vengeance. His crown was now riſked upon German ground, which had for centuries beheld no foreign enemy. The warlike diſpoſition of its inhabitants, the vigilance of its numerous princes, the artful confederacy of its ſtates, the multitude of its ſtrong caſtles, and the courſe of its rivers, had hitherto reſtrained the ambition of its neighbours; and when attacked upon its extenſive frontier, it was ſtill ſecured in its interior. At the moſt remote periods this Empire maintained the equivocal prerogative of being its own enemy, and of being ſecured againſt every foreign force. It was alſo the want of union among its members, and an intolerant zeal for religion, which now procured the Swediſh conqueror an entrance into its territories. The bond of harmony was already diſſolved, which had rendered this Empire hitherto invincible; and it was from Germany itſelf that Guſtavus Adolphus acquired the power of ſubjecting it. With prudence equal to his courage, he ſeized the favourable moment;

ment; and equally expert in the cabinet as in the field, he employed the reſources of a conſummate policy with as much effect as the thunder of his cannon. Uninterrupted, he purſued his victory in Germany, without once loſing ſight of his own dominions.

The conſternation of the Emperor, and of the Catholic League, could not exceed the aſtoniſhment of the Swediſh allies at the King's unexpected good fortune. His exploits ſurpaſſed even the moſt ardent expectations. The formidable army which had checked his progreſs, ſet bounds to his ambition, and rendered him dependant upon his friends, was now annihilated. Single, and without a competitor, he appeared in the midſt of Germany; nothing could ſtop his career, or interrupt his pretenſions, were he, even in the intoxication of ſucceſs, inclined to abuſe his victory. If the Emperor's authority was formidable in the commencement, equal fears might now be entertained, from the impetuoſity of a foreign conqueror, for the conſtitution of the Empire, and, from the zeal of a Proteſtant king, for the Catholic church of Germany. The diſtruſt and jealouſy which had for ſome time ſubſided in the minds of ſeveral of the combined powers

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towards the Emperor was now rekindled, and ſcarcely had Guſtavus Adolphus merited their confidence, when they began to oppoſe obſtacles to his deſigns. He was obliged to purchaſe his victories amid a continual ſtruggle with the artifice of his enemies and the jealouſy of confederates: but his reſolute courage and deep penetration overcame every obſtruction. While, by the ſucceſs of his arms, he excited the attention of his more powerful allies, France and Saxony, he raiſed the courage of the weaker ſtates, and drew from them an open declaration of their ſentiments. Thoſe who fought in the ſame cauſe with Guſtavus Adolphus formed greater expectations from the magnanimity of this great ally, who enriched them with the ſpoils of their enemies, protected them againſt oppreſſion; and, inconſiderable in themſelves, they acquired a weight when united with the Swediſh hero. This was the caſe with moſt of the free cities, and, above all, with the inferior Proteſtant ſtates. It was by theſe means that the King was introduced into the heart of Germany, his rear was covered, his army was provided with neceſſaries, his troops were received into their fortreſſes, and their lives expoſed in his battles. His prudent reſpect for the national pride, his amiable deportment,

ment, ſome brilliant acts of juſtice, and his regard for the laws, were ſo many fetters with which he attached to him the German Proteſtants; while the revolting barbarities of the Imperialiſts, the Spaniards, and troops of Lorrain, powerfully contributed to place the forbearance of his own army in a favourable light.

If Guſtavus Adolphus owed moſt of his progreſs to his own genius, it muſt not be denied that he was greatly favoured by the nature of circumſtances and his good fortune. He had two great advantages upon his ſide, which gained him a decided ſuperiority over his enemies. While he removed the theatre of the war to the territories of the League, joined to his army the recruits of thoſe countries, enriched them with plunder, and appropriated to himſelf the revenues of ſuch princes as had fled, he was enabled to prevent an effectual reſiſtance upon the part of his enemies, and maintain an expenſive war with little coſt to himſelf. When, moreover, his opponents, the princes of the League, were divided among themſelves, and acted without union, conſequently without effect; when generals wanted authority, their troops obedience, and their ſcattered armies had no mutual dependance; while the leaders

of

of the forces were in oppoſition to the ſtateſman and the miniſter, both were united in Guſtavus Adolphus, from whom all authority came, and upon whom the ſoldiers' eyes were turned. He was alone the ſoul of his party, the author of his plans, and the executor of them. By his means all the affairs of the Proteſtants acquired an union and harmony which was wanting altogether among their enemies. It was not then ſurpriſing, if, favoured by ſuch advantages, at the head of ſuch an army, endowed with ſuch a genius and ſuch conſummate policy, Guſtavus Adolphus was irreſiſtible.

With the ſword in one hand, and mercy in the other, he now traverſed the German territories, as conqueror and legiſlator, with as much rapidity as he could have done upon a tour of pleaſure; the keys of every fortreſs are delivered to him as readily as to the native ſovereign; no caſtle is longer inacceſſible, no river ſtops his progreſs, and he often vanquiſhed by the terror of his name. His ſtandards are now ſeen flying along the Maine, the Lower Palatinate is delivered, and the Spaniards and the troops of Lorrain have fled over the Rhine and the Moſelle.

The Swedes and Heſſians now entered with impetuoſity the territories of Mentz, Bamberg, and Wirtzburg; and three fugitive biſhops, at a diſtance from their ſees, dearly ſuffered for their unfortunate attachment to the Emperor. The moſt culpable of all the princes, Maximilian the chief of the League, at length experienced, upon his own territories, the miſeries which he had prepared for others. Neither the terrifying proſpect of his allies, nor the friendly overtures of Guſtavus, who, amid the career of his ſucceſſes, made the moſt advantageous offers of peace, could overcome the obſtinacy of this prince, even after the ruin of Tilly, who had hitherto protected that country as a guardian angel. Not only the banks of the Rhine, but thoſe of the Lech and the Danube, now ſwarmed with Swediſh warriors; retired into his ſtrong caſtles, the defeated Elector abandoned to the enemy his defenceleſs ſtates which had hitherto felt no foe, and where the violences practiſed by the Bavarians ſeemed to invite retaliation. Munich itſelf opened its gates to the invincible monarch; and the unfortunate Elector Palatine was enabled, for ſome ſhort period, in the forſaken reſidence of his adverſary, to conſole himſelf for the loſs of his kingdom.

At

At the ſame time that Guſtavus Adolphus extended his conqueſts in the ſouth of Germany, his allies and generals acquired ſimilar triumphs in the other provinces. While he drove the enemy before him, Lower Saxony ſhook off the Auſtrian yoke, Mecklenburg was abandoned, and on the borders of the Elbe and Weſer the Auſtrians evacuated all their garriſons. The Landgrave William of Heſſe Caſſel rendered himſelf formidable in Weſtphalia, the Duke of Weimar in Thuringia, and the French in the electorate of Treves. On the eaſtward the whole kingdom of Bohemia was overrun by the Saxons; the Turks were already prepared to fall upon Hungary; and a dangerous inſurrection was meditated in the heart of the Auſtrian territories. Inconſolable, did the Emperor look around, in expectation of receiving from the different courts of Europe the means of oppoſing the enemy; in vain did he call to his aſſiſtance the Spaniards, whom the bravery of the Flemings occupied within the Rhine; he made efforts equally fruitleſs to engage in his cauſe the Court of Rome and the whole Catholic church. The offended Pope ſported, by ſome ſplendid proceſſions and idle anathemas, with the embarraſſment of Ferdinand; and inſtead of

of yielding the required affiftance, only fhowed him Mantua laid wafte.

The haughty defpot was now aware of his infignificance; the ruin of his allies, with the departure of his friends, and the continual increafe of danger, fhowed him the vanity of his projects. Surrounded by enemies on every fide of his extenfive dominions; with the countries of the League, the ramparts were gone with which Auftria had hitherto defended herfelf, and the horrors of war approached her unguarded frontiers. His moft zealous confederates were now difarmed, and Maximilian of Bavaria, his firmeft fupport, was fcarce able to defend himfelf; his armies, diminifhed by repeated defeats and defertion, were rendered fpiritlefs, and imbibed a difmay which, by infpiring the terrors of a defeat, already infured a victory over them. The danger had now gained its fummit, and nothing except fome extraordinary means could fave the Houfe of Auftria from deftruction. The moft fenfible want was that of a general, and the only one who was capable of re-eftablifhing the former reputation of the Auftrian arms had been, through jealoufy, removed from the command. So low was the Emperor, however, reduced, that

that he even made humiliating offers to his offended ſervant, and proffered to him the power of which he had been ſhamefully deprived in a ſtill more diſgraceful manner. A new ſpirit now appeared to actuate the decayed body of Auſtria, and a rapid change of circumſtances betrayed the able hand which guided it. To the abſolute King of Sweden, a general equally abſolute was now oppoſed, and one victorious hero was confronted with another; both armies renewed the dubious conflict, and the victory, ſo nearly in the hands of Guſtavus Adolphus, muſt be again expoſed to a ſevere trial. The contending forces encamped before Nuremberg, equally anxious for the event of a battle. The ſtrength of all Germany appeared directed towards this point, and prepared to bring the fate of a twelve years war to a deciſion. But this cloud was at once diſpelled, and forſook Franconia only to hover with a more deſtructive effect upon the plains of Saxony. Near Lutzen fell the thunder which menaced Nuremberg; and the battle, already half loſt, was purchaſed by the corpſe of a ſovereign. Fortune, which never hitherto neglected the career of the King of Sweden, favoured him at his death with the rare indulgence of being permitted to die in the full poſſeſſion of his glory and unrivalled fame.

fame. It may be allowed us to doubt whether, with a longer life, he had merited the tears which Germany ſhed over his grave, or maintained the tribute which poſterity yields the only juſt conqueror whom this world has produced. By the untimely end of this formidable leader, the ruin of his party was apprehended. But there is no human loſs which is irreparable. Two great ſtateſmen, Oxenſtern in Germany, and Richelieu in France, undertook the conduct of the war upon the demiſe of the hero; and deſtiny ſtill prolonged, for ſix years, the flames of war which hovered over the aſhes of him who was no more.

I may here be permitted to follow Guſtavus Adolphus in his victorious progreſs, and with a rapid view to relate it; and then, when the fortune of the Swedes is reduced to extremity by a ſeries of diſaſters, and Auſtria, in the height of its pride, conſtrained to have recourſe to the moſt deſperate and humiliating expedients, to return with the thread of the narration to the Emperor.

The plan of future operations had no ſooner been concerted between the King of Sweden and the Elector of Saxony at Halle, in which

it was decided that the latter ſhould invade Bohemia, while the former entered the territories of the League; no ſooner had an alliance taken place between the princes of Anhalt and Weimar, who prepared to conquer Magdeburg, than the King began his march towards the Empire. The Emperor was ſtill formidable in the Empire; Imperial garriſons ſtill oppoſed the Swediſh progreſs in Franconia, Suabia, and the Palatinate, moſt of which muſt be overcome by force. On the Rhine he was awaited by the Spaniards, who had overrun the territories of the baniſhed Elector Palatine, poſſeſſed themſelves of all his ſtrong places, and rendered the paſſage of the river difficult. On his rear was Tilly, who had already begun to aſſemble new ſtrength; and in a ſhort time that general was to be joined by the auxiliaries of Lorrain. In the boſom of every Papiſt, religious zeal preſented him with an inveterate enemy; and yet his connexions with France did not leave him entirely at liberty to act againſt the Catholics. Guſtavus Adolphus perceived thoſe obſtacles, and vanquiſhed them; the ſtrength of the Auſtrians lay ſcattered in different garriſons, and he was able to attack them with his united force. If the religious bigotry of the Catholics oppoſed him,

together

together with the fear in which the weaker ſtates were retained from apprehenſions of Auſtria, he might rely upon the active ſupport of the Proteſtants, alarmed by the thoughts of the Emperor's tyranny. The ravages of the Imperial and Spaniſh troops had powerfully aided him in thoſe quarters; the ill-treated huſbandman and citizen had long awaited a deliverer, and a change of condition appeared a deſirable object to all. Emiſſaries were already diſpatched to gain over the more conſiderable free cities, viz. Nuremberg and Frankfort, to the Swediſh ſide; Erfurt was the firſt that lay upon the King's march, and which he could not leave unoccupied in his rear. A ſucceſsful negotiation with the Proteſtant inhabitants procured him, without reſiſtance, the entrance into the city and its citadel. Here, as in all other places which afterwards ſubmitted to his arms, he exacted an oath of allegiance, and he ſecured its poſſeſſion by a ſufficient garriſon. The command of an army which was deſtined to be raiſed in Thuringia, was given to his ally, William Duke of Weimar; he alſo entruſted his queen to the city of Erfurt, and promiſed to increaſe its privileges. The Swediſh army now broke off in two columns through the foreſt of Thuringia, over Gotha; Arnſtadt reſ-

 cued,

cued, during the march, the county of Henneberg from the hands of the Imperialifts; and in three days they formed a junction at Koenigshofen, on the borders of Franconia.

Francis, Bifhop of Wirtzburg, the moft zealous enemy of the Proteftants, and the moft active member of the Catholic League, was alfo the firft who felt the indignation of Guftavus Adolphus. A few threats were fufficient to obtain the Swedes poffeffion of his fortrefs of Koenigshofen, and with it the [illegible] of the whole territory. Confternation [illegible] this conqueft feized all the Catholic ftates of the Empire; the bifhops of Bamberg and Wirtzburg trembled in their refidences; they already faw their fees tottering, their churches profaned, and their religion degraded. The animofity and perfecuting fpirit of his enemies had reprefented the conduct of the King of Sweden and his troops in the moft difadvantageous light, which neither the repeated affurances of the King, nor the moft fplendid examples of his clemency and patience, could efface; the people feared to fuffer the fame treatment, which in fimilar circumftances they would have fhown to others. Many of the richeft Catholics now fled to avoid the fanguinary fanaticifm of the Swedes; the Bifhop

Biſhop himſelf afforded the example to his ſubjects. In the midſt of the perſecuting zeal which his bigotry had kindled, he abandoned his dominions, and fled to Paris, in order to endeavour to excite the French miniſtry againſt the common enemy of the Catholic religion.

Meanwhile Guſtavus Adolphus made a rapid progreſs amid the eccleſiaſtical territories. Abandoned by their garriſons, Schweinfurt, and ſoon after Wirtzburg, ſurrendered to him; but Ma- berg he was obliged to gain by ſtorm. In place the enemy had collected a great quantity of proviſions and warlike neceſſaries, which now fell into the hands of the Swedes; the King found a valuable prize in the library of the Jeſuits, which he tranſported to Upſal, and his troops a ſtill more agreeable one in the richly filled wine-vaults of the prelate: the Biſhop had in ſeaſonable time ſaved his treaſure. The example of the capital was followed by the remainder of the country, and every place ſubmitted to the Swedes. The King cauſed all the Biſhop's ſubjects to ſwear him allegiance; and, in the abſence of the legitimate ſovereign, created a regency, of whom half were compoſed of Proteſtants. In every Catholic place of which Guſtavus Adolphus made himſelf the maſter, he

he eſtabliſhed the Proteſtants in all the churches, but without retaliating upon the Papiſts the oppreſſion which they practiſed upon the former; force was only uſed towards ſuch as made reſiſtance; the few violences which the ſoldiery, amid the blind rage of their firſt attacks, exerciſed, cannot be attributed to their humane leader. Such enemies as were peacefully diſpoſed and defenceleſs, experienced a mild treatment; it was Guſtavus Adolphus's moſt ſacred principle to ſpare the blood of his enemies, as much as that of his own troops. Immediately upon his irruption into the biſhopric of Wirtzburg, without regarding the treaties which the Biſhop, in order to gain time, had pretended to enter into, he endeavoured to excite the general of the League to aſſiſt his country. That defeated commander had in the mean time collected the ruins of his army on the Weſer; reinforced himſelf by the Imperial garriſons in Lower Saxony; and had formed a junction in Heſſe Caſſel with Fugger and Altringer, who commanded under him. At the head of a conſiderable force, Tilly burned with ardour to efface the ſtain of his firſt defeat by a ſplendid victory. In the camp of Fulda, where he had led his army, he made uſe of repeated arguments with the Duke of Bavaria

to permit him to give battle to Guſtavus Adolphus. But the League had, beſides Tilly's, no ſecond army to loſe; and Maximilian was too cautious to expoſe the fortune of his party to the riſk of another battle. With tears in his eyes, Tilly received the commands of his ſuperior, which enjoined him to inactivity. In this manner his march towards Franconia was delayed, and Guſtavus Adolphus gained time to obtain poſſeſſion of the whole territory. It was in vain that Tilly reinforced his army near Aſchaffenburg with 12,000 troops of Lorrain, in order, with a ſuperior force, to relieve Wirtzburg; both the town and citadel were already in the hands of the Swedes; and Maximilian of Bavaria was univerſally cenſured, perhaps not without cauſe, for having, by his ſcruples, occaſioned the loſs of the country. Obliged to avoid a battle, Tilly muſt now content himſelf with preventing the further advance of the enemy; but he could only recover a few places from the valour of the Swedes. After an ineffectual attempt to throw a reinforcement of troops into the town of Hanau, which was weakly garriſoned by the Imperialiſts, and the poſſeſſion of which was of the utmoſt importance to the Swedes, he followed

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the mountain road, to defend the Palatinate against the approach of the King.

Tilly was not the ſole enemy whom Guſtavus Adolphus met in Franconia, and drove before him. Charles Duke of Lorrain, celebrated in the cotemporary annals for his unſteadineſs of character, his vain projects, and his misfortunes, ventured to raiſe his weak arm againſt the Swediſh hero, in order to obtain from the Emperor Ferdinand the electoral dignity. Deaf to the rules of policy, this prince, obeying only the dictates of his boiſterous ambition, exaſperated France againſt him by having recourſe to the Emperor's protection; and expoſed in a ſtrange country, for a vain phantom, his dominions, which a French army overrun. Auſtria readily yielded to him the honour, like the other princes of the League, of hazarding his ruin for her ſake. Intoxicated with vain hopes, this prince collected a force of 17,000 men, which he deſired to lead in perſon againſt the Swedes. If theſe troops were deficient in diſcipline and bravery, they wanted not a ſplendid attire; and however ſaving they were of their martial proweſs againſt the enemy, the more willing they were to diſplay it towards the people, for whoſe defence they were arrived.

A panic

A panic terror ſtruck them upon the approach of the King's cavalry, and they were eaſily expelled from their cantonments in the territories of Wirtzburg; the defeat of a few regiments occaſioned an univerſal rout among their troops, and the remainder haſtened upon the other ſide of the Rhine, to avoid the effect of Swediſh valour. Diſgraced and ridiculed throughout all Germany, the Duke returned home, too fortunate in eſcaping the indignation of his conqueror, who had firſt beaten him in the field, and then juſtified his hoſtilities by a manifeſto. It is related upon this occaſion, that a peaſant, in a village upon the Rhine, ſtruck the Duke's horſe with a whip as he was quickly paſſing; "*Haſte, Sir,*" ſaid the peaſant; "*you muſt make more ſpeed in order* " *to eſcape the great King of Sweden.*"

The unfortunate example of his neighbour had inſpired the Biſhop of Bamberg with more prudent reſolutions. To prevent the plundering of his territories, he ſent deputies to the King of Sweden with offers of a peace; but theſe were deſigned only to gain time until the arrival of the troops which he expected to his aſſiſtance. Guſtavus Adolphus, too magnanimous to ſuſpect treachery, readily accepted

the Biſhop's offers, and mentioned the conditions upon which he was willing to ſave the territories of the latter from hoſtile treatment; he was the more diſpoſed to act in this manner, as he did not wiſh to loſe that time by conquering Bamberg, which he could better employ in proſecuting his deſigns upon the territories of the Rhine. The rapidity with which he executed thoſe deſigns obtained him the ſupplies which the loſs of time in purſuing a weak biſhop in Franconia muſt have withheld from him. This cunning prelate neglected the treaty ſo ſoon as the danger was removed from his territories; ſcarce had Guſtavus Adolphus departed, when he threw himſelf under the protection of Tilly, and readily received the Imperial troops into his fortreſſes, which he had previouſly offered to the Swedes. By this ſtratagem, however, he only delayed for a ſhort period the ruin of his biſhopric. A Swediſh general who had been left in Franconia, undertook to chaſtiſe this perfidy; and the country, thus rendered the ſeat of war, was equally laid waſte by friends and enemies.

The flight of the Imperialiſts, whoſe formidable preſence had hitherto delayed the deciſion of the Franconian ſtates, had prevented both

both the nobility and peaſantry from ſhowing themſelves friendly diſpoſed towards the humane conduct of the Swediſh king. Nuremberg joyfully received him; and the Franconian nobles were gained by a flattering proclamation, in which the King condeſcended to juſtify his hoſtile entrance into their territories. The fertility of Franconia, and the confidence with which the forbearance of the army inſpired its inhabitants, produced abundance in the Swediſh camp. The favour into which Guſtavus Adolphus inſinuated himſelf among the nobility of this circle, the admiration and regard which his exploits excited, even among his enemies, and the rich booty which the ſervice of a victorious king held out, were not a little ſerviceable to him. Recruits flocked to his ſtandard from all quarters.

The King had loſt little or no time in ſubduing Franconia. Guſtavus Horn, one of his beſt generals, was left to complete the conqueſt of this circle, and to preſerve it with a force of 8000 men; he haſtened himſelf with the main army, which had been augmented by the recruits of Franconia, towards the Rhine, in order to ſecure this frontier of the Empire againſt the Spaniards; to diſarm the eccleſiaſ-

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tical Electors, and in thofe fertile countries to open new refources for the profecution of the war. He followed the courfe of the Maine; Seligenftadt, Afchaffenburg, Steinheim, and all the country on both fides of this river, were fubjected on his march; the Imperial garrifons feldom awaited, and never maintained their pofts on his arrival. Some time previous, one of his colonels had been fo fortunate as to take, by furprife, the town and citadel of Hanau, upon the prefervation of which, Tilly had been fo intent; and eager to be freed from the yoke of the Imperialifts, the Count of that name immediately put himfelf under the protection of the Swedifh monarch.

The King's attention was now turned towards Frankfort, it being a fettled maxim with him in his progrefs through Germany, ever to fecure his rear by the friendfhip and poffeffion of its principal cities. Frankfort was one of the firft free cities which he had from Saxony endeavoured to prepare for his reception; and he now fummoned it, by new deputies from Offenbach, to grant him a free paffage. This city would have willingly preferved a neutral fyftem between the Emperor and the King of Sweden, as, whatever party the inhabitants embraced,

embraced, they had reaſon to be apprehenſive for their privileges and commerce; they might feel the heavy weight of Imperial indignation if they haſtily ſubmitted to the King of Sweden, and the latter was afterwards unable to defend them againſt the Emperor's deſpotiſm. But the diſpleaſure of an irreſiſtible conqueror was much more to be feared while he was before their gates with a formidable army, and could puniſh their oppoſition by the loſs of their commerce and proſperity. It was in vain that their deputies alleged, as an excuſe, the danger which their fairs, their privileges, and, perhaps, their conſtitution, would incur, by drawing down upon themſelves, through a declaration for Sweden, the Emperor's vengeance. Guſtavus Adolphus expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that ſo important a concern as the liberties of the whole Empire could be poſtponed in conſideration of their annual fairs; and that they could, for a moment, ſacrifice the great cauſe of their country and religion for temporal motives. He reſolutely added, that having found the keys of every fortreſs from thoſe of the iſland of Rugen to the Maine, he would alſo know where to diſcover thoſe of Frankfort; that the ſafety of Germany and the freedom of its church being the ſole motive of his invaſion, he could not,

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in confideration of the juftice of his caufe, fuffer any interruption of his progrefs. He was aware the people of Frankfort only fought to amufe him, and was therefore refolved to obtain their affiftance in earneft; the deputies who returned with this anfwer he clofely followed at the head of his army, and awaited before Saxenhaufen, in full order of battle, the decifion of the town-council.

If this city hefitated to fubmit to Guftavus Adolphus, it arofe merely from its apprehenfion of the Emperor; its own inclination not fuffering their balancing, for a moment, between the liberator of Germany and its oppreffor. The meafures under which Guftavus Adolphus now compelled them to declare themfelves, would leffen the guilt of their apoftacy in the Emperor's eyes, and conceal a voluntary ftep under the mafk of compulfion; the gates were opened for the King of Sweden, who led his army through this city in a magnificent proceffion, and in admirable order. A garrifon of fix hundred men was left in Saxenhaufen *; the King, with the reft of his army,

* The fuburb divided by the Maine from Frankfort. *Tranf.*

advanced

advanced the ſame evening before the town of Hoechſt, in the territories of Mentz, and it ſurrendered to him before night.

While Guſtavus Adolphus purſued his conqueſts upon the Maine, fortune crowned the efforts of his generals in the north of Germany. Roſtock, Wiſmar, and Doemitz, the only ſtrong places which the Imperialiſts ſtill poſſeſſed in the dutchy of Mecklenburg, were taken by the lawful ſovereign, the Duke John Albert, aſſiſted by the Swediſh general Achatius Tott. In vain did the Imperial general Wolf, Count of Manſfeld, endeavour to recover the Magdeburg territories, of which the Swedes had taken poſſeſſion immediately after their victory at Breitenfeld; he was obliged to relinquiſh his undertaking, and abandon Magdeburg itſelf to the enemy. The Swediſh general Bannier, who, at the head of 8000 men, remained upon the Elbe, held that city cloſely blockaded, and defeated ſeveral Imperial regiments which were ſent to its relief. The Count of Mansfeld defended it, however, with great reſolution; but his garriſon being too ſmall to make a long reſiſtance, he already began to reflect upon the conditions on which he ſhould ſurrender the town, when Pappenheim arrived to his aſſiſt-

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ance, and occupied the befiegers in another quarter, Neverthelefs, Magdeburg, or rather the miferable huts of which it now confifted, was afterwards voluntarily abandoned by the Imperialifts, and immediately taken poffeffion of by the Swedes.

The ftates of Lower Saxony ventured to recover themfelves, after the fuccefsful undertakings of the King, from floth, which the unfortunate Danifh war had drawn upon them, through Wallenftein and Tilly. They affembled at Hamburg, where it was concerted to raife three regiments, with which it was expected they might be able to drive the Imperial garrifons from a country which they fo much oppreffed. The Bifhop of Bremen, a relation of the King of Sweden, was not fatisfied even with thefe meafures, and affembled troops of his own, but had the misfortune foon to be compelled to lay down his arms by an Imperial general, Gronsfeld. Even George Duke of Lunenburg, though formerly colonel in the Emperor's fervice, now embraced the caufe of Guftavus Adolphus, and raifed fome regiments for the fervice of that monarch, by which the Imperialifts were occupied greatly to his advantage.

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But a more important ſervice was rendered the King by William Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, whoſe victorious arms made the greateſt part of Weſtphalia and Lower Saxony, with the Biſhopric of Fulda, and even the Electorate of Cologne, tremble. It was now remembered, that while the Landgrave came to Guſtavus Adolphus's camp at Werben, two Imperial generals, Fugger and Altringer, had been detached by Tilly to Heſſe Caſſel, in order to chaſtiſe the firſt for his apoſtacy to the Emperor. But that prince had with manly courage reſiſted the enemy's arms, as well as his ſtates bid defiance to Tilly's incendiary proclamations; and the battle of Leipzig ſoon delivered him from thoſe ravages. He took advantage of their abſence with as much courage as reſolution; in a ſhort time Vach, Minden, and Hoexter ſurrendered to him; and, alarmed by the rapidity of his progreſs, Fulda, Paderborn, and all the eccleſiaſtical territories which bordered upon Heſſe Caſſel. Theſe ſtates, terrified at his conqueſts, haſtened by ſubmiſſion to diſarm him, and redeemed themſelves from plunder by the payment of conſiderable ſums of money. After theſe fortunate undertakings, the Landgrave with his victorious army joined that of Guſtavus Adol-

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phus, and went in perſon to meet that monarch at Frankfort, to concert with him the plan of their future operations.

A number of princes and foreign ambaſſadors had aſſembled in that city, to congratulate Guſtavus Adolphus on his progreſs, and either court his alliance or appeaſe his indignation. Among theſe was the unfortunate abdicated King of Bohemia, and Elector Palatine, Frederic V. who was arrived from Holland to join the army of his avenger and benefactor. Guſtavus ſhowed him the unprofitable honour of receiving him as a crowned head, and endeavoured, by a reſpectful attention, to ſoften the remembrance of his misfortunes. But great as the advantages were which Frederic promiſed himſelf from the good fortune of his protector, and whatever expectations he had built upon his juſtice and magnanimity; the hopes of that unfortunate prince's reinſtatement were as diſtant as ever. The inactivity and contradictory politics of the Court of England had abated the zeal of Guſtavus Adolphus, and a pride which he could not always command led him here to forget the glorious duties of an avenger of oppreſſion, in which quality he had ſo loudly announced

announced himſelf on his invaſion of Germany *.

George Landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt was compelled upon this occaſion, by the terror of the King's approach, to ſubmit to the latter. The connexions of this ſuſpicious prince with the Emperor, and his little zeal for the Proteſtant cauſe, were no ſecrets to the King; but the hatred of ſo contemptible an enemy could only excite his compaſſion, while his ſelf-importance drew ridicule. As this Landgrave knew his own ſtrength, and the political ſtate of Germany, ſo little as to offer himſelf as mediator between both parties, Guſtavus Adolphus, with humour, called him the *peace-maker*. When engaged at play, and he won from the Landgrave, he often ſaid, "*The money afforded* "*double ſatisfaction, as it was Imperial coin.*" The Landgrave was indebted for the King's lenity to his affinity with the Elector of Saxony,

* A poor excuſe, with the author's leave. The Swediſh monarch might have known that Charles I. then engaged in a quarrel with the rebellious fanatics of Scotland, and his own Parliament in England, without troops or revenues, could not poſſibly interfere in foreign tranſactions. Beſides, his aſſiſtance was not required while the Swedes made ſuch a progreſs. *Tranſ.*

 whom

whom Gustavus Adolphus had reason to suspect, and this monarch's contenting himself with the surrender of his fortress of Russelheim, and promise of observing a strict neutrality during the war. The Counts of Westerwald and Wetterau also visited the King at Frankfort, in order to conclude an alliance with him, and offer their assistance against the Spaniards, which in the end was very favourable to his cause. The town of Frankfort had reason to boast of the King's presence, who upon this occasion, by his royal authority, took their commerce under his protection, and, by the most effectual measures, restored their fairs, which had greatly suffered during the war.

The Swedish army was now reinforced by 10,000 men, which William Landgrave of Hesse Cassel had led to the King's assistance. Gustavus Adolphus had already attacked Koenigstein; Costheim and Fliershain surrendered after a short resistance; he became master of the river Maine, and boats were constructed with all possible expedition at Hoechst to transport the troops across the Rhine. These preparations filled the Elector of Mentz, Anselm Casimir, with consternation, and he could no longer entertain a doubt that

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they were intended againſt him. As a partiſan of the Emperor, and one of the moſt active members of the League, he could expect no better treatment than his confederates, the Biſhops of Wirtzburg and Bamberg, had already experienced. The ſituation of his territories upon the Rhine made the poſſeſſion of them indiſpenſable to the enemy; and beſides, that beautiful country afforded invincible temptations to the neceſſitous army. But, too little acquainted with his own power and that of his opponent, the Elector flattered himſelf that he was in a condition to repel force by force, and, by the ſtrength of his fortifications, to reſiſt the Swediſh valour. He ordered the works of his capital to be repaired with all poſſible expedition, provided it with every neceſſary to ſuſtain a long ſiege, and received a reinforcement of 2000 Spaniards, commanded by Don Philip de Sylva. In order to prevent the approach of the Swediſh veſſels, he laid a boom acroſs the mouth of the Maine, and alſo ſunk large heaps of ſtones, and even veſſels, in that quarter. He, however, accompanied by the Biſhop of Worms, fled with his moſt precious effects to Cologne, and abandoned both his capital and his territories to the rapacity of a tyrannical garriſon. All theſe

preparations, which betrayed leſs real courage than impotent inſolence, did not prevent the Swediſh army from advancing and making formidable preparations to beſiege the city. While a part of the troops entered Rhinegau, cut in pieces all the Spaniards whom they found there, and raiſed contributions, another diviſion laid the Catholic parts of Weſterwald and Wetterau under contribution; the army had already encamped at Caſſel, oppoſite Mentz, while Bernard Duke of Weimar, on the oppoſite ſide of the Rhine, took Ehrenfels and the Mouſe Tower. Guſtavus Adolphus had already taken meaſures to croſs the Rhine, and block up Mentz upon the land ſide, when the progreſs of Tilly in Franconia ſuddenly recalled him from that ſiege, and obtained the Electorate a ſhort repoſe.

The danger of the city of Nuremberg, which Tilly, during the abſence of Guſtavus Adolphus, had threatened with a ſiege, and the cruel fate of Magdeburg, had occaſioned the King ſuddenly to retire from before Mentz. In order to avoid a ſecond time the ſhame and the reproach of abandoning his confederates to a ferocious enemy, he haſtened by rapid marches to relieve that important city; but on his arrival

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at Frankfort, hearing the ſpirited reſiſtance of the inhabitants of Nuremberg, and the retreat of Tilly, he loſt not a moment to proſecute his deſigns againſt Mentz. As he failed in an attempt to paſs the Rhine at Caſſel under the cannon of that place, he now advanced upon the mountain road, ſeized every poſt of importance on his march, and made his appearance upon the banks of the Rhine a ſecond time at Stockſtadt, between Gernſheim and Oppenheim. The Spaniards had abandoned the mountain road, but endeavoured with obſtinacy to defend the left bank of the river: they had, for this purpoſe, burned and ſunk all the veſſels in the neighbourhood, and ſtood in formidable force to conteſt with the King its paſſage. The King's impetuoſity expoſed him upon this occaſion to great danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. In order to reconnoitre the oppoſite border, he ventured in a ſmall boat upon the river, but had juſt landed when a number of Spaniſh cavalry fell upon him, from which he only ſaved himſelf by a precipitate retreat. At length, with the aſſiſtance of ſome neighbouring fiſhermen, he ſucceeded in gaining a few boats, in which he cauſed Count Brahe to paſs at the head of 300 Swedes. No ſooner had theſe time to in-

trench themſelves upon the oppoſite bank, than they were attacked by fourteen ſquadrons of Spaniſh dragoons and cuiraſſiers. Notwithſtanding the enemy's ſuperiority in point of number, Brahe defended himſelf with intrepidity, and gained time for the King in perſon to arrive to his aſſiſtance. The Spaniards at length retired with the loſs of 600 men killed; ſome took refuge in Mentz, others in Oppenheim. A lion of marble, erected upon a high pillar, holding in his right claw a naked ſword, and bearing on his head a caſque, ſhowed the traveller, ſo late as ſeventy years after this event, the ſpot where this immortal king paſſed the firſt river of Germany.

Immediately after this fortunate event, Guſtavus Adolphus tranſported his artillery, with the greater part of his army, over the river, and beſieged Oppenheim, which, after a deſperate reſiſtance, was, on the 8th of December 1631, taken by ſtorm; 500 Spaniards, who had ſo courageouſly defended the place, fell indiſcriminately a ſacrifice to the Swediſh fury. The intelligence of Guſtavus's paſſing the Rhine ſpread conſternation among the Spaniards and the troops of Lorrain, who hoped upon the left bank of that river to avoid

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the vengeance of the Swedes. Flight was now become their only reſource, and every untenable place was immediately evacuated by them. After a long train of outrages upon the inhabitants, the troops of Lorrain abandoned Worms, which before their departure they wantonly ill-treated. The Spaniards haſtened to ſhut themſelves up in Frankenthal, where they hoped to be able to defy the victorious arms of Guſtavus Adolphus.

The King now loſt no time in proſecuting his deſigns againſt the city of Mentz, into which the flower of the Spaniſh troops had thrown themſelves. While he advanced againſt the town upon the left bank of the Rhine, the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel had approached it upon the right, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong places on his march. The beſieged Spaniards, though encloſed upon every ſide, diſplayed in the commencement great vigour and reſolution, and a ſhower of bombs fell for ſeveral days into the Swediſh camp, which coſt the King a number of brave men. Notwithſtanding the vigour of this reſiſtance, the Swedes continually gained ground, and had advanced ſo cloſe to the ditch, that they entertained ſerious thoughts of ſtorming the place.

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The courage of the garriſon now ſunk; they juſtly trembled for the furious impetuoſity of the Swediſh ſoldiers, of which the citadel of Marienburg in Wirtzburg afforded ſo diſmal and recent an example; a dreadful fate awaited Mentz if taken by ſtorm, and the enemy might eaſily conſider himſelf as bound to retaliate the treatment of Magdeburg upon this rich and magnificent reſidence of a Catholic prince. In order rather to ſave the town than their own lives, the garriſon capitulated the fourth day, and obtained from the magnanimity of the King a ſafe eſcort to Luxemburg: a conſiderable number of them, however, after the former example of others, entered the Swediſh ſervice.

On the 13th of December 1631, the King made his public entry into the conquered city, and took up his quarters in the electoral palace. Eighty cannon fell into his hands, and the inhabitants were obliged to redeem themſelves from pillage by 80,000 florins. From this indulgence the Jews and clergy were excluded, who were obliged to purchaſe their own redemption with large ſums; the Elector's library the King made a preſent of to his chancellor Oxenſtern, who intended to have had it tranſported

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to the ſeminary of Weſterah; but the veſſel in which it was embarked for Sweden, foundered in the Baltic, and this irreparable treaſure was loſt.

After the loſs of Mentz, fortune did not ceaſe to perſecute the Spaniards upon the Rhine. Shortly after the conqueſt of the latter city, the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel had taken Falkenſtein and Reifenberg; Koenigſtein ſurrendered to the Heſſians; the Rhingrave Otto Louis, one of the King's generals, had the good fortune to defeat nine Spaniſh ſquadrons, who advanced from Frankenthal in order to poſſeſs themſelves of the moſt conſiderable towns upon the Rhine, from Boppart to Bacharach. After the taking of the fortreſs of Braunfels, which the Counts of Wetterau effected with the aſſiſtance of the Swedes, the Spaniards loſt every place in that country, and could preſerve but few towns in the Palatinate, except Frankenthal. Landare and Cronweiſſenburg openly declared for the Swedes; Spires offered to raiſe troops for the King; Manheim was loſt through the prudent meaſures of the young Duke Bernard of Weimar, and the negligence of its governor, who, for that misfortune, was tried

tried before a council of war at Heidelberg, and beheaded.

The King had protracted the campaign until the depth of winter, and in all probability the severity of the season was what principally gave the Swedish soldier the advantage over his enemy. But the troops, exhausted with fatigue, now required repose in winter-quarters, which Gustavus Adolphus, soon after the surrender of Mentz, granted them in its neighbourhood. He himself took advantage of this necessary cessation of his military operations to finish, with his chancellor, the affairs of his cabinet, to treat for a neutrality with some of his enemies, and to terminate a political dispute with an allied power, which his past conduct had occasioned. He chose the city of Mentz for his winter-quarters, and for the prosecution of his state matters; and betrayed towards this place a greater partiality than appeared consistent with either the interests of the German princes, or the intended shortness of his visit to the Empire. Not contented with having extremely well fortified the town, he erected upon the opposite angle which the Maine forms with the Rhine, a new citadel, which from its founder was named Gustavusburg, but which has

has been better known under the denomination of *Priests' Plunder*.

While Guſtavus Adolphus rendered himſelf maſter of the Rhine, and threatened the neighbouring electorates with his victorious arms, his vigilant enemies made uſe of an artful ſtratagem at Paris and St. Germaine, to withdraw from him the ſupport of France, and, if poſſible, to engage him in a war with that power. He had, by unexpectedly and ſuſpiciouſly turning his arms towards the Rhine, ſurpriſed his allies, and enabled his enemies to inſpire a diſtruſt of his intentions. After he had ſubdued Wirtzburg and the greater part of Franconia, he could advance through Bamberg againſt Bavaria and Auſtria, and it was generally as naturally expected, that he would not delay to attack the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria in the centre of their power, and immediately terminate the war by the ſubjection of theſe his principal enemies. But, to the aſtoniſhment of all, Guſtavus Adolphus relinquiſhed the warlike career which mankind had traced out for him, and inſtead of turning his arms to the right, advanced to the left, in order to make the more feeble princes of the Rhine feel the effects of his power, while he gave

gave his more important adverſaries time to aſſemble new forces. Nothing but the expulſion of the Spaniards, in order to reinſtate the unfortunate Elector Palatine, Frederic V. could make this ſtrange ſtep comprehenſible, and the general belief of his intended reinſtalment at firſt ſilenced the ſuſpicion of his friends and the calumnies of his enemies. But now the Lower Palatinate was entirely cleared of its enemies, and Guſtavus Adolphus continued to purſue new plans of conqueſt upon the Rhine; he even continued to retain the conquered Palatinate from its lawful ſovereign. In vain did the Engliſh ambaſſador remind the conqueror of what equity required of him, and the duty which her ſolemn promiſe demanded of him as a man of honour; Guſtavus Adolphus replied to thoſe demands with bitter complaints of the inactivity of the Engliſh court, and made preparations to carry his arms next into Alſace, and even into Lorrain.

The diſtruſt of the Swediſh monarch now began loudly to declare itſelf, and the hatred of his enemies was active in ſpreading unfavourable reports of his intentions. Richelieu, miniſter of Louis XIII. had already taken alarm by the King's approach towards France, and the timi-

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dity of his mafter already gave credit to the conjectures which were uttered upon the occafion. At that period France was engaged in a civil war with its Proteftant fubjects, and it was feared, not without grounds, that the approach of a victorious king of the fame religion might infpire them with new courage, and excite them to a more defperate refiftance. This could even take place if Guftavus Adolphus was ever fo removed from affording them encouragement, and from acting unfaithfully towards his ally the King of France. But the vindictive fpirit of the Bifhop of Wirtzburg, who fought to confole himfelf for the lofs of his dominions at the French court, the empoifoned rhetoric of the Jefuits, and the forward zeal of the Bavarian minifter, reprefented a private underftanding between the Hugonots and the King of Sweden as undoubted, and found means to fill the timid difpofition of Louis with apprehenfions. Not only chimerical politicians, but even a number of the Catholic religion in that kingdom, believed it; fanatic zealots already faw him prepared to pafs the Alps with an army, and dethrone even Chrift's vicegerent in Italy. Notwithftanding the eafe with which thefe reports of themfelves dropt fo rapidly, however the tolerance and regu-

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lar conduct of the King made these complaints ridiculous, it was not, however, to be denied, that his undertakings upon the Rhine gave a dangerous gloss to those calumnies, as if his arms were less directed against the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, than against the Catholic religion itself.

The universal clamour of discontent which the Jesuits raised in all the Catholic courts against the connexions of France with the enemies of its religion, at length prevailed upon Richelieu to embrace a decisive measure for the service of the Catholic world; and at the same time to separate France from the selfishness of the Catholic states of Germany. Convinced that the intentions of the King of Sweden, like his own, were directed to humiliate the House of Austria, he spared no efforts to persuade the princes of the League to consent to a perfect neutrality, on condition that they renounced their alliance with the Emperor, and withdrew their troops from his army. In either determination of the princes Richelieu gained his ends. By their detaching themselves from the Austrian party, Ferdinand was exposed to the united arms of France and of Sweden upon every side; and Gustavus Adol-

phus, delivered from his other enemies in Germany, could turn his whole force againſt the hereditary dominions of the Emperor: inevitable was then the ruin of the Houſe of Auſtria, and Richelieu had gained his ends without hurting the Catholic religion. Much more dangerous were the conſequences which awaited the princes of the League, if they once oppoſed a refuſal, and perſiſted in their adherence to Auſtria. In that caſe France had juſtified its attachment to the Catholic religion before all Europe, and fulfilled its duty towards the church; the princes of the League would then appear the authors of the continual war which Germany was deſtined to wage; they alone, by their voluntary attachment to the Emperor, rendered abortive the meaſures of their protector, and drew their church into the utmoſt danger, while they expoſed themſelves to total ruin.

Richelieu followed this plan with the more zeal at a time when the repeated applications of the Elector of Bavaria for French aid cauſed him great embarraſſment. We may recollect, that ſince the period at which this prince began to doubt the Emperor's ſentiments, he had entered into a private league with France, by which

which means he thought to ſecure himſelf the Electorate Palatine, againſt any future alteration of conduct which the Emperor ſhould embrace. So clearly as this treaty pointed out the enemy againſt whom it was directed, nevertheleſs did Maximilian now make a very arbitrary uſe of it, and did not heſitate to requeſt from the French crown that aſſiſtance againſt the King of Sweden, which he had originally demanded againſt Auſtria. Embarraſſed by this contradictory alliance between two oppoſite powers, Richelieu had now only to endeavour to put an immediate ſtop to their hoſtilities; and as little inclined to ſacrifice Bavaria, as he was prevented by his treaty with Sweden from aſſiſting it, he zealouſly laboured to effect a neutrality as his only means of fulfilling his engagements with both. A ſingle plenipotentiary, the Marquis of Breze, was for this purpoſe ſent to the King of Sweden at Mentz, in order to learn his ſentiments on this head, and obtain favourable conditions for the allied princes; but Guſtavus Adolphus had as powerful motives to deſire the contrary, as Louis XIII. had to wiſh for this neutrality. Convinced by numberleſs proofs, that the hatred of the princes of the League towards the Proteſtant religion was invincible, their averſion to the

foreign power of Sweden inextinguiſhable, and their attachment to the Houſe of Auſtria irrevocable; he apprehended much leſs ill effects from their open hoſtility, than from a neutrality which ſtood ſo much in oppoſition to their inclinations; as he was further obliged to carry on the war in Germany at the expenſe of his enemies, he manifeſtly ſuſtained great loſs if he diminiſhed their number without increaſing that of his friends. It was therefore not ſurpriſing if Guſtavus Adolphus betrayed little inclination to purchaſe the neutrality of the Catholic princes, at the expenſe of the advantages he had obtained already.

The conditions upon which he offered to accede to the Elector of Bavaria's neutrality, were accordingly ſevere, and purſuant to thoſe conſiderations. He required from the League a total neutrality, together with withdrawing their troops from the Imperial army and all their conqueſts. He even demanded that the military force of the League ſhould be diminiſhed to a ſmall number; that from all their territories the Imperial armies ſhould be excluded, and aſſiſted with neither men, proviſions, nor ammunition. Hard as theſe conditions were, which the conquerer impoſed upon the

vanquiſhed, the French mediator ſtill flattered himſelf to be able to induce the Elector of Bavaria to accept them. In order to accommodate matters, Guſtavus Adolphus was prevailed upon to conſent to a fortnight's ceſſation of hoſtilities with the latter. But at the very period when this monarch was receiving repeated aſſurances from the French agent of the fortunate iſſue of the negotiation, an intercepted letter of the Elector to the Imperial general Pappenheim in Weſtphaiia, diſcovered the perfidy of that prince, who, by the negotiation, endeavoured to gain time to defend himſelf. Far removed from fettering his military operations by a treaty with Sweden, that artful prince profited by the inactivity of his enemies to make the more ſpeedy preparations; the negotiation was conſequently fruitleſs, and only ſerved to increaſe the animoſity between Sweden and Bavaria.

Tilly's augmented force, with which he threatened to overrun Franconia, preſſingly called the King to that circle; but he muſt previouſly expel the Spaniards, who held in check his progreſs towards Germany and the Netherlands, from the Rhine. With this view Guſtavus Adolphus had already offered a neutrality

trality to the Elector of Treves, Philip of Zelters, under condition that the fortress of Hermanstein should be delivered to him, and a free passage granted through Coblentz. But unwillingly as the Elector beheld the Spaniards in his territories, the less disposed he was to commit his states to the suspicious protection of a heretic; as he was too weak to maintain, between two such powerful concurrents, his independence, he had recourse to the more powerful protection of France. Richelieu, with his usual policy, profited by the embarrassment of this prince to augment the power of France, and obtain an important ally upon the German frontier. A numerous French army was destined to protect the Electorate of Treves, and a French garrison was to be taken into the fortress Ehrenbreitstein. But the object for which the Elector ventured upon this bold step was not fulfilled, and the offended pride of Gustavus Adolphus was not appeased before he had obtained a free passage through the territories of Treves.

While these negotiations were carried on with France, the King's general had taken the remaining fortresses of the electorate of Mentz from the Spaniards; and Gustavus Adolphus, by

by the capture of Creitznach, had completed the ſubjugation of this territory. To protect theſe conqueſts, the chancellor Oxenſtern was left with a part of the forces upon the Rhine, while the great army under the King himſelf began its march againſt the enemy in Franconia.

The poſſeſſion of this circle had already been diſputed, with various ſucceſs, between Tilly and the Swediſh general Horn, whom the King had left behind with 8000 men, and the biſhopric of Bamberg was in particular the ſcene of their ravages. After being called by his other deſigns to the Rhine, the King left the chaſtiſement of the Biſhop to his general, whoſe activity juſtified the choice. In a ſhort time the entire biſhopric ſubmitted to him, and the capital, abandoned by the Imperialiſts, yielded to the Swedes. The baniſhed Biſhop requeſted aſſiſtance, in the moſt preſſing manner, from the Elector of Bavaria, who was at length perſuaded to put an end to Tilly's inactivity. Having received orders from his maſter to reinſtate this biſhop, Tilly collected the troops which were ſcattered through the Upper Palatinate, and marched towards Bamberg with an army of 20,000 men. Guſtavus Horn, reſo-

lutely determined to maintain his conqueſt, awaited his arrival behind the walls of Bamberg, but ſaw himſelf conſtrained to yield to Tilly's vanguard what he thought to be able to diſpute with his whole army. A panic which ſeized his troops, and which no preſence of mind upon the part of their general could remedy, opened the gates to the enemy; and it was with difficulty that the troops, baggage, and artillery, were ſaved. The reconqueſt of Bamberg was the fruit of this victory; but Tilly, with all his activity, was unable to reach the Swediſh general, who retired in good order behind the Maine. The appearance of the King in Franconia, whom Guſtavus Horn had joined with the remainder of his troops at Kitzingen, put a ſtop to Tilly's conqueſts, and compelled him to ſave himſelf by a rapid retreat.

The King made a general review of his troops at Aſchaffenburg, whoſe number, after his junction with Horn, Bannier, and the Duke of Weimar, amounted to near 40,000 men. His progreſs in Franconia was uninterrupted; for Tilly, unable to oppoſe ſo ſuperior an enemy, had made a ſpeedy retreat to the Danube. Bohemia and Moravia were now equally near the King, and in the uncertainty where this

conqueror ſhould direct his march, Maximilian could form no immediate reſolution; the road which was now left open to Tilly muſt decide the King's choice, and the fate of both provinces. It was dangerous to leave Bavaria expoſed in the face of ſo formidable an enemy, in order to cover the frontiers of Auſtria; it was equally dangerous, by the reception of Tilly, to invite an enemy's army into Bavaria, and make it the theatre of warlike operations. The cares of the ſovereign finally overcame the ſtateman's ſcruples, and Tilly received orders, at all events, to cover the frontiers of Bavaria with his whole army.

Nuremberg received with triumphant joy the defender of the Proteſtant faith and of the German freedom, and the enthuſiaſm of the citizens expreſſed itſelf on his appearance in loud tranſports of admiration; Guſtavus could not contain his aſtoniſhment to ſee himſelf in this city, ſituated in the centre of the German empire, where he never had expected to be able to penetrate: the elegant appearance of his perſon completed the impreſſion which his heroic exploits had made, and the condeſcenſion with which he received the addreſſes of this free city, gained him in an inſtant the affection

affection of all hearts. He now in person confirmed the treaty which he had concluded with its citizens upon the borders of the Baltic, and excited them to an active zeal and animosity against the common enemy. He then proceeded to the Danube, and made his appearance before the frontier town of Donauwerth*, unexpected by the enemy. A numerous Bavarian garrison defended this place, and its governor, Rodolph Maximilian Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, in the beginning showed the most resolute determination to defend it until Tilly's arrival. But the impetuosity with which Gustavus Adolphus commenced the siege, soon compelled him to think of evacuating the place, which, however, he fortunately effected amidst a tremendous fire from the Swedish artillery.

The conquest of Donauwerth made the King master of the opposite side of the Danube, and the small river Lech now only separated him from Bavaria. The immediate danger of his territories aroused all the activity of Maximilian, and, however easy he had made it for the

* It was not far from this town that Prince Eugene and Marlborough afterwards obtained the great victory of Blenheim. *Trans.*

enemy to approach Bavaria, he resolutely determined now to oppose their future progress. On the opposite side of the Lech, near the small town of Rain, Tilly occupied a strong position which, surrounded by three rivers, bid defiance to all attack. All the bridges on the Lech were destroyed; and its whole course as far as Augsburg, defended by strong detachments, and the possession of that free city, which had long betrayed a disposition to follow the example of Frankfort and Nuremberg, was secured by a Bavarian garrison, and the disarming of the inhabitants. The Elector shut himself up with all the troops he could assemble in Tilly's camp, seemingly resolved to place all his hopes upon this post, and set bounds to the Swedish progress.

Gustavus Adolphus soon appeared opposite the Bavarian intrenchments, after he had reduced all the territories of Augsburg, upon the hither side of the Lech, and had opened his troops a communication with that neighbourhood. It was now the month of March, when the river, swelled to an uncommon height by the great rains, and the melting snows of the mountains of Tyrol, flowed with great rapidity between steep banks. Its stream threatened

ened the rash assailant with a certain grave, and on the opposite side the enemy's cannon promised a murderous reception if he defied the fury of both the fire and the waters; and if he even passed the river, a fresh and vigorous enemy awaited his exhausted troops in an inaccessible camp; and instead of the refreshment so much required, his wearied force must attack the enemy's intrenchments, whose strength seemed to defy every power. A defeat sustained upon this river must lead the Swedes to inevitable ruin, since the same stream which set bounds to their victory, also cut off their retreat if fortune should abandon them.

The Swedish council of war which the King assembled upon this occasion, represented all these circumstances in their full force, to deter him from so dangerous an undertaking. The most intrepid were alarmed for the consequences, and a respectable warrior, grown gray under arms, did not hesitate to express his doubts. But the King's resolution was fixed. "How," said he to Gustavus Horn, who spoke for the rest, "what! what! after passing the Baltic, and "so many rivers in Germany, shall we be "stopped by so miserable a stream as the "Lech?" He had already with great danger recon-

reconnoitred the poſition, and diſcovered that the hither ſide of the river was evidently more elevated than the other, by which the fire of the Swediſh artillery muſt have the ſuperiority over that of the enemy. With great preſence of mind he profited by this circumſtance. He immediately placed three batteries where the left bank of the Lech forms an angle oppoſite its right, and commenced a croſs fire upon the enemy from ſeventy-two pieces of cannon. While this tremendous fire drove the Bavarians from the oppoſite borders, he inſtantly formed a bridge over the river. A thick ſmoke, kept up by burning wood and wet ſtraw, concealed this operation from the enemy, while the continued thunder of artillery and the noiſe of axes prevented them from hearing it. He encouraged his troops by his own animating example, and himſelf diſcharged above ſixty cannon. This fire was returned for two hours with equal vivacity by the Bavarians, though with leſs effect, as the Swediſh batteries were higher ſituated, and ſerved as a breaſtwork. It was in vain the Bavarians endeavoured to demoliſh the enemy's works from the oppoſite ſide; the ſuperior fire of the Swedes put them into diſorder, and they were compelled to be ſpectators of the finiſhing of the bridge. Tilly, upon

upon this dreadful day, did the utmoſt to encourage his troops, and no danger could retain him from the banks of the river. At length he found the death which he ſought: a cannon-ball ſhattered his leg, and his brave aſſociate Altringer was ſoon after dangerouſly wounded in the head. Deprived of the encouraging preſence of theſe two generals, the Bavarians fled, and Maximilian himſelf was, contrary to his wiſhes, led to a puſillanimous meaſure. Overcome by the perſuaſions of the dying Tilly, whoſe wonted reſolution was overpowered by the near approach of death, he abandoned his inacceſſible poſition; and a ford diſcovered by the Swedes, over which their cavalry prepared to paſs, haſtened his retreat. The ſame night, and before the Swedes had paſſed the Lech, he broke up his camp, and, without giving the King time to diſturb his retreat, withdrew in the beſt order to Neuburg and Ingolſtadt. With aſtoniſhment Guſtavus Adolphus the next day ſaw his paſſage completed, the enemy's camp abandoned; and the Elector's flight excited his ſurpriſe more than the ſtrength of his poſition. "Were I the "Bavarian," cried he, "never, even though a "cannon-ball had carried away my beard and "chin, never would I have abandoned a poſi-

"tion ſuch as this, and laid open my territories
"to the enemy."

Bavaria now lay expoſed, and its territories, long ſpared, for the firſt time were ſubject to the ravages of war. Before, however, the King proceeded to the conqueſt of the enemy's country, he reſcued the free city of Augſburg from the Bavarian yoke, took the citizens under his protection, and ſecured their fidelity by a garriſon which he left; he ſoon after advanced by rapid marches againſt Ingolſtadt, in order, by the capture of this important fortreſs, which the Elector covered with a great part of his army, to ſecure his conqueſts in Bavaria, and obtain a firm footing upon the Danube.

Shortly before his arrival in Ingolſtadt had Tilly terminated his career within the walls of that city, after having experienced the utmoſt reverſes of fortune: conquered by the ſuperior generalſhip of Guſtavus Adolphus, he loſt, at the cloſe of his days, the laurels of his earlier victories, and ſatisfied, by a chain of misfortunes, the juſtice of fate, and the avenging ghoſts of Magdeburg. In him the Imperial army and that of the League ſuſtained an irreparable loſs, the Catholic religion was deprived of one of its moſt

moſt zealous defenders, and Maximilian of Bavaria of the moſt faithful of his ſervants, who ſealed his fidelity by his death, and even performed the duty of a general in his dying moments. His laſt advice to the Elector was, to take poſſeſſion of Ratiſbon, in order to maintain the Danube, and keep open the communication with Bohemia.

With that confidence which ſo many victories naturally inſpired, Guſtavus Adolphus undertook to beſiege Ingolſtadt, and expected, by the impetuoſity of his firſt attack, to conquer all reſiſtance. But the ſtrength of its works, and the bravery of its garriſon, preſented obſtacles to him, which ſince the battle of Breitenfeld he had not met with; and a period was nearly put to his career before the walls of this city. A twenty-four pounder killed his horſe while he reconnoitred the place, but the King ſpeedily recovered, and quieted the alarms of his terrified troops by mounting another; and ſoon after his favourite, the young Margrave of Baden, was ſhot by his ſide. This warning of his evil genius was, however, diſregarded, and that inevitable death awaited him upon the plains of Lutzen, of which Ingolſtadt's walls had preſented to him the image.

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The poſſeſſion of Ratiſbon by the Bavarians, who, according to Tilly's advice, had ſurpriſed this free city by ſtratagem, and threw into it a ſtrong garriſon, quickly changed the King's plan of operations. He had flattered himſelf with the hope of gaining poſſeſſion of that Proteſtant city, and of finding in it an ally equally devoted to him with Nuremberg, Augſburg, and Frankfort. The ſubjection of it to the Bavarians delayed for a conſiderable time his favourite project of making himſelf maſter of the Danube, and cutting off the enemy's communication with Bohemia. He ſuddenly raiſed the ſiege of Ingolſtadt, before which he waſted both his time and the lives of his men; and penetrated into the interior of Bavaria, in order, by confining the Elector to the defence of his own territories, to ſtrip the Danube of its protectors.

The whole country as far as Munich lay open to the conqueror: Moſburg, Landſhut, and the entire chapter of Freyſinger, ſubmitted to him: nothing could reſiſt his arms. But if he met with no regular enemy, fanaticiſm preſented him with a much more inveterate one in the boſom of every Bavarian. Soldiers who did not believe the Pope's infallibility were a new ſpectacle in this country. The blind zeal of

of the priests had represented them to the people as monsters, children of hell, and their leader as the antichrist. It is not then surprising if the inhabitants dispensed with every rule of nature and humanity against this brood of Satan, and thought themselves justified in the most violent actions. Woe be to the Swedish soldier who singly fell into the hands of these barbarians! All the torments which a bigotted zeal could devise were executed upon these unhappy victims, and the aspect of their mangled bodies exasperated the army to exercise a dreadful retaliation. Gustavus Adolphus alone scorned, by any act of revenge, to tarnish the lustre of his character; and the distrust of the Bavarians towards his religion, far from making him depart from the rules of humanity towards the unfortunate people, imposed it on him rather as a sacred duty to honour his religion by the greater clemency.

The King's approach spread terror and consternation in the capital, which, stripped of its defenders and forsaken by its most distinguished inhabitants, sought its safety from the conqueror's magnanimity. By an unconditional and voluntary surrender it hoped to disarm his vengeance, and already sent deputies to Freysingen,

ſingen, to lay at his feet the keys of the city. However the King might naturally have been led, from the inhumanity of the Bavarians, and the hoſtile intention of their ſovereign, to abuſe his victory; however preſſed even by Germans to retaliate Magdeburg's fate upon the reſidence of its author; his great ſoul ſcorned a mean revenge, and the defenceleſs ſtate of the enemy diſarmed his indignation. Contented with the more noble triumph of leading the Elector Palatine, Frederic, in victorious pomp into the very reſidence of the prince who was the original inſtrument of his ruin, and the uſurper of his ſtates, he heightened the magnificence of his entry by the ſuperior ſplendour of his clemency and goodneſs.

The King found in Munich only a forſaken palace, as the Elector's treaſures had been tranſported to Werfen. The magnificence of the building aſtoniſhed him, and he aſked the guide who ſhowed the apartments the name of the architect. "It is no other," anſwered the man, "than the Elector himſelf."—"I "would willingly have this architect to ſend "to Stockholm," replied the King. "That "the architect will carefully prevent," anſwered the other. When the arſenal was examined,

amined, the carriages were found ſtripped of their cannon. The latter were ſo artfully concealed under the floor, that no traces of them remained, and without the diſcovery of an artificer the deceit had not been found out. "Stand up from death," cried the King, "and "come to light." The floor was ſearched, and 150 pieces were diſcovered, ſome of extraordinary calibre, which had been principally taken in the Palatinate and Bohemia. A treaſure of 30,000 gold ducats, found in one of the large cannon, completed the pleaſure which the King received on this occaſion.

But a more pleaſing ſpectacle he would have received from the Bavarian army, to attack which in their intrenchments he had penetrated ſo far into the country. In this expectation the King was, however, diſappointed. No enemy appeared, and the Elector could not be perſuaded by the moſt preſſing inſtances of his people to hazard the remainder of his army in the field of battle. Shut up in Ratiſbon, he awaited the reinforcements which Wallenſtein was leading from Bohemia, and in the mean time endeavoured, by a renewal of his ſyſtem of neutrality, to retain his enemy from active meaſures. But the King's diſtruſt, ſo often

 excited,

excited, fruſtrated this deſign, and the premeditated delay of Wallenſtein abandoned the Bavarians to the fury of the Swedes.

Thus far had Guſtavus Adolphus advanced from one victory to another, and from conqueſt to conqueſt, without finding an enemy capable of checking his progreſs. A part of Bavaria and Suabia, the biſhoprics of Franconia, the Lower Palatinate, and the electorate of Mentz, lay conquered in his rear. An uninterrupted good fortune had attended him to the borders of the Auſtrian monarchy, and a ſplendid ſucceſs had juſtified the plan of operations which he had formed immediately upon obtaining the victory at Breitenfeld. If he had not ſucceeded according to his deſires, in promoting a confederacy among the Proteſtant ſtates, he had either diſarmed or weakened the Catholic League, carried on the war principally at its expenſe, diminiſhed the Emperor's reſources, ſtrengthened the reſolution of the weaker ſtates, and, by laying under contribution the Imperial allies, found a way to the heart of Auſtria. Where he could not uſe the force of arms, the utmoſt ſervice was rendered him by the free cities, whoſe affections he had gained by the double ties of religion and policy; and ſo long as he main-

maintained a ſuperiority in the field he might form every expectation from their zeal. By means of his conqueſts upon the Rhine, the Spaniards were cut off from the Lower Palatinate, ſhould the war in the Netherlands even leave them ſufficient ſtrength to interfere in that of Germany; even the Duke of Lorrain embraced a neutrality at the end of this unfortunate campaign. After ſo many garriſons left behind him during his progreſs through Germany, his army was not diminiſhed; and freſh as when he began his march, he now ſtood in the centre of Bavaria, determined and prepared to penetrate into the interior of Auſtria.

While Guſtavus Adolphus maintained the war with ſuch ſuperiority in Germany, fortune was no leſs favourable to his ally, the Elector of Saxony, in another quarter. We may remember, that at the interview held between both theſe princes at Halle, after the battle of Leipzig, the conqueſt of Bohemia fell to the Elector of Saxony, while it was determined the King ſhould advance againſt the territories of the League. The firſt fruit which the Elector reaped from the victory at Breitenfeld was the reconqueſt of Leipzig, which was followed by the expulſion of the Auſtrian troops from the en-

tire circle. Reinforced by the deserters which flocked to him from the enemy's standard, the Saxon general, Arnheim, directed his march to Lusatia, which an Imperial general, Rodolph Tiefenbach, had overrun, in order to chastise the Elector for his embracing the King's cause. He had already commenced, in this badly defended province, the usual ravages, conquered several towns, and terrified Dresden itself by his approach. But his progress was suddenly checked by an order of the Emperor to spare Saxony.

Ferdinand, too late, remembered the defective politics which had led him to reduce the Elector of Saxony to extremity, and enable the King of Sweden to compel this powerful prince to an alliance. The sacrifice which he had made by an untimely haughtiness he now wished to recover by an equally ill-timed moderation, and committed a second fault while he sought to remedy the first. To deprive his enemy of so great an ally, he renewed, through the interference of Spain, his negotiations with the Elector; and to facilitate the preliminaries, Tiefenbach was ordered to evacuate the territories of Saxony. But this consideration, on the part of the Emperor, so far from producing the

the defired effect, rather difcovered his embarraffment to the Elector, who, fenfible of his own importance, was the more encouraged to profecute the advantages which he had already obtained. How could he alfo, without rendering himfelf contemptible by his ingratitude, forfake an ally to whom he had given the moft facred promifes of fidelity, and to whom he was indebted for the prefervation of his ftates, and his very electorate?

The Saxon army in Lufatia advanced into Bohemia, where a train of favourable circumftances feemed to enfure them victory. The flames of infurrection ftill concealed themfelves under the afhes in that kingdom, the firft theatre of this deftructive war; and the difcontent of the nation was augmented by continual oppreffion. On every fide that unfortunate country betrayed evident marks of the moft melancholy alteration. Entire eftates had changed their proprietors, and groaned under the yoke of Catholic mafters, whom the favour of the Emperor and of the Jefuits had enriched with the plunder of the expelled Proteftants. Others had taken advantage of the public calamity, to purchafe the confifcated eftates for a fmall confideration. The blood of the prin-

cipal defenders of liberty was ſhed upon the ſcaffold, and ſuch as avoided that fate by a timely flight wandered far from their native country in miſery, while the obſequious ſlaves of deſpotiſm enjoyed their patrimony. Still more inſupportable than the oppreſſion of theſe petty tyrants was the reſtraint of conſcience which they impoſed upon all the Proteſtants of the kingdom. No exterior danger, no oppoſition ever ſo violent on the part of the nation, no example from paſt experience, could deter the Jeſuits from their rage for making proſelytes: where fair means were ineffectual, military force was employed to bring people within the pale of the church. Theſe violences were chiefly practiſed againſt the inhabitants of Ivachimſthal, in the frontier mountains, between Bohemia and Meiſſen. Two Imperial commiſſaries, accompanied by as many Jeſuits, and fifteen muſketeers, repaired to this peaceful valley to preach the evangeliſt of heretics. Where the rhetoric of the former was ineffectual, recourſe was had to the latter, and by forcibly quartering them upon the houſes, by threats of baniſhment and fines, it was endeavoured to ſeduce. But on this occaſion the good cauſe prevailed; and the vigorous reſiſtance of this ſmall people obliged the Emperor

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difgracefully to withdraw his mandate of converfion. The example of the court afforded the Catholics of the kingdom a pattern for their conduct, and juftified every fort of oppreffion which they ufed towards the Proteftants. It was then not furprifing if this perfecuted party fought a change of condition, and faw with pleafure the appearance of their deliverers upon the frontiers.

The Saxon army was already upon its march towards Prague. The Imperial garrifons every where retired before them. Schlukenau, Tefchen, Auffig, and Leitmeritz fpeedily fell into their hands, and every Catholic place was abandoned to plunder. Confternation feized all the Papifts of the kingdom, and, confcious of their ill treatment of the Proteftants, they were terrified on the approach of a Proteftant army. All the Catholics of diftinction haftily fled from the country to the capital, which they as quickly abandoned. Prague itfelf was prepared for no attack, and was too weakly garrifoned to fuftain a long fiege. The Emperor, too late, refolved to call Field-marfhal Teifenbach to the defence of this capital. Before the Imperial orders could reach the head-quarters of this general in Silefia, the Saxons were already

 advanced

advanced near Prague, whofe Proteftant inhabitants promifed little zeal, and whofe weak garrifon gave room to hope for no long refiftance. In this dreadful embarraffment the Catholic inhabitants looked up to Wallenftein for their fecurity, who now lived in Prague as a private man. But far from applying his military talents and the weight of his influence towards the prefervation of the city, he rather feized the favourable moment to fatiate his vengeance. If he did not immediately invite the Saxons to Prague, it was at leaft his conduct which facilitated its capture. Though unprepared for a long refiftance, it was, neverthelefs, able to defend itfelf until the arrival of fuccour: and an Imperial colonel, Count Maradas, fhowed a ferious intention of undertaking its defence. But left without fupport, and having nothing to depend upon but his own courage, he durft not venture upon it without the confent of a fuperior: he therefore confulted Wallenftein, whofe approbation might fupply the place of Imperial authority, and to whom the Bohemian generals were referred in this laft extremity. But he artfully adhered to his inactivity, and to his retreat from all political concerns, and thereby difcouraged all the fubalterns from acting. To complete the confternation,

ſternation, he abandoned the capital, with his whole court, however little he had to fear from the enemy on its capture: and it immediately ſurrendered in conſequence of his departure. His example was followed by all the Catholic nobility, the generals at the head of the troops, the clergy, and all the officers of the crown: the people were employed the whole night in ſaving their perſons and effects: all the roads to Vienna were filled with the fugitives, who did not recover from their conſternation until their arrival in the Imperial reſidence. Madaras, himſelf, ready to embrace the moſt deſperate expedients for the delivery of Prague, followed the reſt, and led his ſmall detachment to Tabor, where he awaited the event.

Profound ſilence reigned in Prague as the Saxons the next morning appeared before it; no meaſures were taken for its defence; not a ſhot was fired from the walls, which could announce the reſiſtance of the Bohemians. A crowd of ſpectators, on the contrary, led by curioſity from the city, repaired to behold the enemy's army; and the peaceful confidence with which they approached, reſembled rather a friendly welcome than a hoſtile reception. From the general report of thoſe people it was known

known that the city was evacuated, and the regency fled to Budweifs. This unexpected and inexplicable want of defence excited Arnheim's diftruft the more, as the fpeedy relief from Silefia was no fecret to him, and the Saxon army was too little prepared for undertaking a regular fiege, and not fufficiently numerous to take the place by ftorm. Apprehenfive of ftratagem, he redoubled his caution; and he perfevered in this opinion until Wallenftein's houfe-fteward, whom he difcovered among the crowd, confirmed him in the intelligence. "The city is ours without a blow," he now cried to his officers, and immediately fummoned it by a trumpeter.

The citizens of Prague, difgracefully abandoned by their defenders, had long refolved upon this meafure, and they only required as a condition, the fecurity of their liberty and property. When this was agreed to on the part of the Saxon general in his mafter's name, they opened their gates without refiftance, and his army made their triumphal entry upon the 11th of November 1631. The Elector foon after followed, in order to receive in perfon the homage of thofe whom he newly took under his protection; for it was only under this

this title that the three towns of Prague had ſurrendered to him: this ſtep was not to withdraw their allegiance from the Houſe of Auſtria. The fears of repriſal which the Papiſts entertained, were the more agreeably ſurpriſed by the Elector's clemency and the ſtrict diſcipline of his troops; Field-marſhal Arnheim, in particular, diſplayed upon this occaſion his conſideration towards Wallenſtein; not ſatisfied with having ſpared the eſtates of the latter in his march hither, he now placed guards upon his palace, to prevent any violence. The Catholic citizens obtained the fulleſt liberty of conſcience, and were only deprived of four of the churches which they had taken from the Proteſtants. The Jeſuits alone, to whom were attributed all former acts of oppreſſion, were excluded from this indulgence, and baniſhed the kingdom.

John George did not bely the ſubaltern puſillanimity and dependance with which the Emperor's name inſpired him, and did not permit himſelf to purſue in Prague a conduct which would certainly be retaliated upon a future occaſion in Dreſden by Imperial generals ſuch as Tilly and Wallenſtein. He cautiouſly diſtinguiſhed the enemy with which he waged war,

war, from the head of the Empire, whom he could refpect; he did not venture to touch the houfe-furniture of the latter, while he appropriated to himfelf, without fcruple, the cannon of the former, and tranfported them to Drefden. He did not take up his refidence in the Imperial palace, but in the houfe of Lichtenftein, and preferved the private apartments of one whom he had deprived of a kingdom. The character of fuch a prince makes us doubtful whether to attribute this moderation to the felf-command of difcretion, or pity the weaknefs of a mind which good fortune itfelf could not infpire with boldnefs, and even liberty could not ftrip of its fetters.

The taking of Prague, which was foon followed by that of moft of the other towns, operated a fpeedy change in the affairs of the kingdom. Many of the Proteftant nobility, who had wandered about in mifery, now returned to their native country; and Count Thurn, the notorious author of Bohemian infurrection, furvived the triumph of beholding himfelf a conqueror upon the former theatre of his crime and condemnation. Over the bridge where the expofed heads of his followers terrified him by a profpect of his own fate, he now

now made his triumphal entry, and his firſt care was to remove thoſe objects of diſmay; the exiles were reinſtated in their properties, whoſe preſent proprietors had fled the kingdom. Diſregarding the price at which eſtates had been purchaſed, even though they themſelves had received the payment, they ſeized upon every thing which had once belonged to them, and many found cauſe to boaſt of the economy of their late poſſeſſors. The land and cattle had greatly improved under the ſecond proprietors; the apartments were decorated with the richeſt furniture, the cellars which they left empty were plentifully filled, their ſtables inhabited, and their houſes provided with the neceſſaries of life. But diſtruſtful of the fortune which ſo unexpectedly ſurpriſed them, they haſtened to diſencumber themſelves of their uncertain poſſeſſions, and convert their immoveable into transferable property.

The appearance of the Saxons inſpired all the Proteſtants of the kingdom with courage; and both in the country and in the capital, crowds repaired to the newly opened Proteſtant churches. Many whoſe adherence to popery was retained only by fear, now profeſſed the new

new doctrine, and a number of converted Catholics with joy renounced a coercive persuasion, in order to follow the more early conviction of their conscience. All the moderation of the new regency could not contain the just displeasure which an ill-treated people now manifested to the oppressors of their consciences; their recovered rights were used in a violent manner, and in many places their hatred of the religion lately imposed upon them was only satiated with the blood of its adherents.

Meanwhile the succour which the Imperial generals Goetz and Tiefenbach conducted from Silesia had entered Bohemia, and were joined by some of Tilly's regiments from the Upper Palatinate. In order to disperse them before they could be augmented, Arnheim advanced with part of the army, and made an impetuous attack upon their intrenchments at Limburg on the Elbe. After a severe action he at length beat the enemy from their strong camp, not, however, without sustaining considerable loss, and compelled them, by the vehemence of his fire, to retire over the Elbe, and destroy the bridge which they had formed upon that river; but he could not prevent the Imperialists from

from making reprisals, nor the Croats from pursuing their ravages as far as the gates of Prague. However splendid and promising the appearances were under which the Saxons opened the campaign in Bohemia, the issue by no means fulfilled the expectations of Gustavus Adolphus. Instead of vigorously pursuing the advantages obtained, and forcing a passage through Bohemia, now conquered, to the Swedish army, and in conjunction with it to attack the Imperial power in its centre, they weakened themselves in a war of skirmishes with the enemy, in which they were not always successful, and their time for more important operations was lost. But John George's subsequent conduct betrayed the motives which deterred him from prosecuting his advantages against the Emperor, and from promoting the King of Sweden's designs by vigorous measures.

The Emperor had now lost the greater part of Bohemia, and the Saxons were advancing against Austria, while the Swedish monarch opened himself a passage to the Imperial hereditary states through Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria. A long war had exhausted the strength of the Austrian monarchy, ruined the country,

country, and diminiſhed its armies; the renown of its victories was now no more, as well as reliance upon the invincibleneſs, obedience, and diſcipline of the troops over whom the Swediſh conqueror had obtained ſo deciſive a ſuperiority in the field. The Emperor's allies were either diſarmed, or their fidelity ſhaken by the approach of danger; even Maximilian of Bavaria, Auſtria's moſt powerful ſupport, appeared inclined to yield to the enticing meaſures of neutrality; the ſuſpicious alliance of that prince with France had already filled the Emperor with apprehenſions. The Biſhops of Wirtzburg and Bamberg, with the Elector of Mentz, and the Duke of Lorrain, were either driven from their dominions, or threatened with danger. Treves was upon the point of throwing itſelf under the protection of France; the Spaniſh armies were cloſely engaged by the bravery of the Dutch in the Netherlands, while Guſtavus Adolphus drove them back from the Rhine; and Poland was retained by its neutrality. The borders of Hungary were threatened by the Tranſilvanian Prince Rogotzy, the ſucceſſor of Bethlen Gabor, and the inheritor of his unquiet ſpirit; the Porte itſelf prepared to take advantage of the favourable moment. Moſt of the Proteſtant ſtates, emboldened by the

the ſucceſſes of their benefactor, had taken an active part againſt the Emperor; all the reſources which the effrontery of Tilly and Wallenſtein had obtained by oppreſſive contributions in theſe territories, were now loſt; the depots, magazines, and rendezvouſes deſtroyed; and the war could no longer be maintained at the expenſe of others. To complete this embarraſſment, the country of the Ens raiſed a dangerous inſurrection; where the untimely zeal of the regency for making proſelytes diſarmed the Proteſtant ſubjects, and created commotions while the enemy already threatened the frontiers. After ſo long a continuance of good fortune, ſuch ſplendid victories and great conqueſts, and ſo much unneceſſary effuſion of blood, the Auſtrian monarch ſaw himſelf, a ſecond time, plunged into the ſame abyſs which threatened him on his acceſſion with ruin. Should Bavaria embrace a neutrality, Saxony withſtand the tempting offers, and France reſolve to attack Spain at the ſame time in the Netherlands and Catalonia, Auſtria's ruin would be completed, the allied powers would divide its ſpoils, and the German ſyſtem would undergo a total change.

The entire chain of theſe diſaſters commenced with the battle of Breitenfeld, whoſe unfortu-

nate iſſue viſibly diſcovered the approaching ruin of the Auſtrian monarchy, hitherto concealed under the deluſion of a great name. When men reflected upon the formidable ſuperiority which the Swedes obtained in the field, it was principally attributed to the unlimited power of their leader, who united all the ſtrength of his party in one point, and, fettered by no higher authority, was at liberty to profit by every favourable circumſtance which might promote his ends. But ſince Wallenſtein's reſignation and Tilly's defeat, the contrary was obſerved on the part of the Emperor and of the League: the generals wanted conſideration among their troops, and the liberty of acting; the ſoldiers wanted obedience and diſcipline, the ſcattered corps an unanimous effect; the ſtates wanted attachment, their leaders union, quickneſs of reſolution, and firmneſs in executing their projects. It was not their ſuperior ſtrength, but rather their better uſe of it, which gave the enemy ſo deciſive a ſuperiority over the Emperor; Ferdinand and the League poſſeſſed the means, but not the ſpirit, to convert them to a proper uſe. Had even Tilly never loſt his reputation, the diſtruſt entertained of Bavaria did not permit the fate of the monarchy to be left in the hands of a man who never con-

concealed his attachment to that houſe. Ferdinand's moſt preſſing want was a general who poſſeſſed experience ſufficient to form and command the army, and who ſhould devote, with blind obedience, his ſervices to the Houſe of Auſtria.

Such a choice now occupied the attention of the Emperor's privy council, whoſe members were divided upon the ſubject. In order to oppoſe one monarch to another, Ferdinand, in the firſt fire occaſioned by the circumſtances, offered himſelf to be the leader of his army; but little trouble was required to overturn a reſolution which aroſe only from deſpair, and which ſubſided upon calm reflection. But the reſolution which the Emperor was prevented from embracing by the weight of adminiſtration, circumſtances permitted his ſon, a youth of talents and fortitude, on whom the ſubjects of Auſtria already placed great expectations. Required by his birth to defend a monarchy, whoſe two crowns he already bore, Ferdinand III. King of Hungary and Bohemia, united, with the natural dignity of a ſucceſſor to the throne, the reſpect of the army and the affection of the people, ſo neceſſary for him in ſupporting the war. It was only the beloved ſucceſſor who could

could venture to lay new burdens upon the ſubjects; it was only his perſonal appearance in the army that could extinguiſh the pernicious jealouſy which reigned among its leaders, and reſtore the troops to their former diſcipline. If the youth wanted the neceſſary maturity of judgment, wiſdom, and military experience, which only practice could attain, a fortunate choice of counſellors and aſſiſtants, who under the cover of his name could be inveſted with ſupreme authority, would ſupply the deficiency.

However rational the grounds were upon which a part of the miniſtry ſupported this propoſal, it received great oppoſition from, perhaps, the Emperor's jealouſy and the deſperate ſtate of affairs. It was dangerous to entruſt the fate of the monarchy to a youth ſo deficient of experience; it was riſking too much to oppoſe to the greateſt general of the age, a beginner whoſe capacity for this important poſt was hitherto tried by no undertaking, who had gained no reputation, and was much too feeble to inſpire a diſpirited army with courage: the ſtate which a royal leader was expected to maintain with the army, would impoſe a new burden upon the ſubject. How ſerious a matter

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was it, in a word, for the Prince himſelf to commence his political career with an office which would render him the ſcourge of his people, and the oppreſſor of his future territories!

It was not alone neceſſary to find a general for the army; an army muſt alſo be found for the general. Since Wallenſtein's compulſory reſignation, the Emperor had defended his cauſe more by the aſſiſtance of Bavaria and the League than by his own armies; and this dependance upon ſuſpicious allies rendered it neceſſary for him to have recourſe to a general of his own. But what poſſibility was there of raiſing a new army without the all-powerful aid of gold, and a victorious commander; and an army which by its diſcipline, warlike ſpirit, and expertneſs, could be confronted with the experienced troops of the northern conqueror? In all Europe there was only one man capable of this, and he had received a mortal affront.

The juncture had at length arrived which procured the offended pride of Wallenſtein an unprecedented ſatisfaction. Fate itſelf had avenged him, and an uninterrupted ſeries of misfortunes, which ſince the day of his diſmiſſal

aſſailed Auſtria, made the Emperor confeſs, that with this general he had loſt his right arm. Every defeat of his troops renewed theſe wounds, and every place loſt reproached the deceived monarch with his weakneſs and ingratitude. Sufficiently fortunate to have loſt in the offended general only the leader of his armies and the defender of his ſtates; he found, however, in him an enemy the moſt dangerous of all, as he was leaſt prepared againſt treaſon.

Removed from the theatre of war, and condemned to an irkſome inactivity, while his competitor gathered laurels in the field, that proud general had beheld the change of fortune with ſtudied compoſure, and concealed in theatrical pomp the dark deſigns of his active genius. Actuated by a glowing ſenſibility, while he affected a contented exterior, he calmly waited the opportunity of ſatiating his revenge and offended honour, which approached with ſlow but certain ſteps to a concluſion. He had now forgotten all that he owed to the Emperor, and the ſervices which he had performed the latter were alone imprinted on his imagination; his inſatiable thirſt for power delighted in the Emperor's ingratitude, which ſeemed to abſolve him from every duty.

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He now confidered himfelf juftified in a retaliation; while the meafure of his exterior career was reftrained, his hopes were extended, and an enthufiaftic imagination loft itfelf in boundlefs defigns, which in every other character but his would appear madnefs. However high his merits had raifed him, they were overrated, and fortune had denied him no duty which was expected as a private man and a citizen; until the moment of his difmiffal, his defigns had received no oppofition, his ambition had felt no bounds. The blow which ftruck him at the diet of Ratifbon, difplayed the difference between voluntary and coercive power, and the difagreement of the mafter from the fubject. Roufed from the intoxication of his power by the fudden reverfe of fortune, he confounded the authority which he had poffeffed, with that which had deprived him of it, and his ambition obferved the fteps which could obtain his ends. It was after ferioufly experiencing the fupreme power that he earneftly exerted himfelf; the extortion which was practifed towards him, rendered him a robber. Exafperated by no injury, he dedicated his fervices to the throne, fatisfied with being the moft diftinguifhed of its defenders; and it was not till after his difgrace that he departed from the fyftem to which he

he had adhered, and desperately ventured upon his own good fortune.

Gustavus Adolphus had overrun the north of Germany, every place was conquered, and at Leipzig fell the flower of the Austrian troops. The fame of this defeat soon reached the ears of Wallenstein, who, retired in Prague to the condition of a private man, beheld at a distance the tumult of war. What filled all Catholics with consternation, announced his greatness and good fortune; it was for him that Gustavus Adolphus laboured. Scarce had the King begun to acquire a reputation by his exploits, when Wallenstein lost not a moment to court his friendship, and unite with the fortunate enemy of Austria. The banished Count Thurn, who had long devoted his services to the King of Sweden, undertook to communicate to that monarch Wallenstein's congratulations, and to propose a close alliance. Wallenstein required 15,000 men from the King, in order, by their assistance and that of the troops which he himself engaged to raise, to conquer Bohemia and Moravia, to fall upon Vienna, and to drive the Emperor to Italy. However this unexpected offer and its successive promises excited the distrust of Gustavus Adolphus, the latter was

was too good a judge of merit to treat ſuch an important friend with coldneſs. But when Wallenſtein, encouraged by the favourable reception of his firſt offer, renewed it after the battle of Breitenfeld, and required a deciſive anſwer, the prudent monarch heſitated to entruſt his reputation to the chimerical projects of this reſtleſs character, and ſo large a force to the ſincerity of a man who announced himſelf a traitor. He alleged as an excuſe the weakneſs of his army, which muſt ſuffer in his progreſs through the Empire by ſo ſenſible a diminution; and loſt by too great a caution, perhaps, the opportunity to put an immediate end to the war. He too late ſought to renew this negotiation; the favourable moment was paſt, and Wallenſtein's offended pride could never forgive the neglect with which he was treated.

But the King's heſitation haſtened, perhaps, the breach which the nature of their characters rendered inevitable. Both born to give laws, not to receive them, they could not be united in an undertaking which, above all others, required reciprocal ſacrifices. Wallenſtein was *nothing*, where he was not *every thing*; he muſt either act with unlimited power, or not at all. So cordially did Guſtavus Adolphus deteſt control,

control, that he was near breaking the advantageous alliance with the French court, which fettered his active genius. Each was lost to a party which he could not govern, and the latter still less formed for a state of dependance. If the imperative commands of this ally to Wallenstein were so burdensome in common operations, they must be altogether insupportable when they required a participation of the spoil. The proud monarch could not condescend to accept the assistance of a rebellious subject against the Emperor, and to reward his important services with royal munificence; he never could so much lose sight of his own dignity as to satisfy the extravagant ambition of Wallenstein; never could he recompense useful treason with a crown. It was also from him, in case all Europe remained inactive, that a formidable competitor was looked for, should Wallenstein usurp the Bohemian sceptre; and he was in all Europe the only man who could give strength to such a veto. Rendered dictator of Germany, through the means of Wallenstein, he might turn his arms against the latter, and consider himself absolved from every sense of gratitude towards the traitor. Neither could a Wallenstein find a place with such an ally; and apparently it was

was this, not his deſigns upon the Imperial throne, which made him utter, upon hearing of the King's death, the following ſentence: "Fortunate it is for him and me that he is "dead! The German Empire cannot ſupport "two ſuch leaders."

The firſt ſcheme of revenge towards the Houſe of Auſtria was reſolved upon, but the means to execute it remained undecided. What he had failed in effecting with the King of Sweden he hoped to obtain with leſs difficulty from the Elector of Saxony. Engaged in a continual correſpondence with Arnheim, his old friend, he from this period laboured to effect an alliance with Saxony, by which he hoped to render himſelf equally formidable to the Emperor and the King. He flattered himſelf that a meaſure which, if it failed with the Swediſh monarch, would be the more readily embraced by John George, the more that prince's jealouſy was excited by the power of Guſtavus Adolphus; and his otherwiſe weak attachment to the latter was enfeebled by the great deſign of the King. Should he ſucceed in withdrawing Saxony from the Swediſh alliance, and, in conjunction with it, to erect a third power in the Empire, the fate of the war lay

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in his hands; and, led by this ſingle ſtep, he might ſatiate his vengeance againſt the Emperor, reſent the coldneſs of the Swediſh King, and lay the foundation of his own greatneſs upon the ruins of both.

But whatever meaſures he purſued, he could not attain his ends without the ſupport of an army altogether devoted to him. This force could not be ſo privately aſſembled without exciting the ſuſpicion of the Imperial court, and betraying his intentions. Such an army could not previouſly be informed of their rebellious deſtination, ſince it was improbable that they would liſten to the voice of a traitor againſt their legitimate ſovereign. Wallenſtein was, therefore, obliged publicly to recruit under Imperial authority, and to be inveſted by the Emperor himſelf with the abſolute command of the troops. How could it be otherwiſe when he gained the command anew, and the unlimited conduct of the war? Nevertheleſs, neither his pride nor his intereſts permitted him, in perſon, to ſolicit a poſt whoſe power was limited by the Emperor, whoſe fears, it might naturally be expected, ſhould render it uncontrolled. In order to make himſelf maſter of the condition upon which the ſupreme command muſt be accepted, he muſt wait until he

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was invited. This was the advice he received from Arnheim, and the end for which he laboured with deep policy and reſtleſs activity.

Convinced that only extreme neceſſity could conquer the Emperor's irreſolution, and the hatred of Bavaria and Spain, his moſt zealous enemies, he was henceforward occupied in promoting the progreſs of the enemy, and increaſing his maſter's embarraſſment. It was very probable, upon his invitation and encouragement, that the Saxons, already on their march to Luſatia and Sileſia, turned towards Bohemia, and overran that defenceleſs kingdom: the rapid conqueſts there were no leſs effected by his means. Through the deſpair which he excited the capital ſurrendered to the conquerors. In an interview which he held under pretext of negotiating a peace with the Saxon general at Kaunitz, it may be ſuppoſed he ſealed his treaſon; and the conqueſt of Bohemia was, perhaps, the firſt fruit of his ſecret underſtanding. While he took every opportunity to promote the calamities of Auſtria, which were effectually increaſed by the rapid progreſs of the Swedes on the Rhine, he made his adherents in Vienna expoſtulate upon the public misfortune, and complain of the diſmiſſal

miſſal of the late general as the ſource of the loſſes which were ſuſtained. "Had Wallen- "ſtein commanded, this would never have "happened," exclaimed a thouſand voices; and even in the Emperor's privy council this ſentiment obtained zealous adherents.

Their repeated arguments were not neceſſary to convince the oppreſſed monarch of his paſt fault. His dependance upon Bavaria and the League ſoon became inſupportable to him; but, notwithſtanding this dependance, he did not betray his diſtruſt, nor heſitate, by the recall of Wallenſtein, to court the favour of the Electors. But now, preſſed by daily neceſſity, and when the weakneſs of the Bavarian ſupport became viſible, he no longer ſcrupled to lend an ear to Wallenſtein's friends, and take into conſideration their propoſals for the reinſtatement of that general. The immenſe riches which the latter poſſeſſed; his high reputation, and the rapidity with which, ſix years before, he had aſſembled an army of 40,000 men; the little expenſe with which he had maintained that formidable force; the actions which he performed at its head; the zeal, and, in a word, the fidelity he diſplayed for the Emperor's honour; ſtill made a lively impreſſion upon

upon the monarch, and reprefented Wallenftein to him as the moft proper inftrument to reftore the balance, and to fave Auftria, with the Catholic religion. However fenfibly the Imperial pride felt its humiliation upon this occafion; however evidently he confeffed it by his departure from his former meafures; however painful it was to him to defcend from the dignity of his fituation to entreaties; notwithftanding his fufpicion of the fidelity of fo bitterly offended and implacable a man; notwithftanding the force with which the Spanifh minifter and the Elector of Bavaria expreffed their difpleafure at this ftep, neceffity at length overcame every other confideration, and Wallenftein's friends were empowered to confult his fentiments, and learn the poffibility of his reinftatement.

Informed of all that paffed in the Emperor's cabinet to his advantage, Wallenftein poffeffed felf-command fufficient to conceal his inward triumph and affected indifference. The moment of revenge was arrived, and his proud heart delighted to repay the Emperor's mortification in its fulleft extent. With artful eloquence did he expatiate upon the fortunate lot of a private ftation, which he had enjoyed

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ſince his retirement from the political world. Too long, he ſaid, he had taſted the pleaſures of eaſe and independence to make any further ſacrifices to the vain phantom of glory, and the uncertain favour of princes. All his deſires for greatneſs and power were now extinguiſhed, and reſt was the only end of his wiſhes. In order to betray no impatience, he declined the Emperor's invitation to his court, but repaired at the ſame time to Znaim in Moravia, to facilitate his negotiation.

In the commencement it was endeavoured to cónfine the authority which was entruſted to him by means of a ſuperior, and thereby to ſatisfy the Elector of Bavaria. The Emperor's deputies, Queſtenberg and Werdenberg, who, as the old friends of Wallenſtein, were employed in this negotiation, received orders to mention the King of Hungary for this ſtation, who ſhould be preſent at the army, and learn the art of war under Wallenſtein. But the bare mention of this name threatened to deſtroy the negotiation. Wallenſtein declared he would never admit of an aſſociate in the command. But after they departed from this obnoxious point, the Imperial favourite and miniſter, Prince Eggenberg, Wallenſtein's

ſteady friend, who was ſent in perſon to him, for a long time exhauſted all his eloquence to overcome the pretended averſion of the latter. “The monarch,” ſaid the miniſter, “had, in “Wallenſtein, loſt the moſt coſtly jewel in “his crown; but he had already ſufficiently “repented of this compulſive and haſty ſtep, “and his reſpect for him was unchangeable. “The unlimited confidence which was now “placed on his talents and fidelity gave the “moſt deciſive proof of it, in order to remedy “the faults of his predeceſſors, and to change “the appearance of matters. It would be “great and noble for him to ſacrifice his juſt “indignation to the choice of his country, and “worthy of him to oppoſe the warmth of his “redoubled zeal to the calumny of his enemies. “The victory over himſelf,” ended the prince, “would crown his ineſtimable merits, and “render him the greateſt man of the age.”

Such diſgraceful circumſtances and flattering promiſes at length appeared to diſarm the indignation of Wallenſtein; but not until he had exhauſted all his reproaches againſt the Emperor, and made a pompous diſplay of his ſervices, and humiliated the monarch who now required his aſſiſtance. As if he yielded

to theſe conſiderations alone, he conſented with haughtineſs to what was the moſt ardent wiſh of his ſoul, and deigned to favour the meſſenger with a ray of hope. But too far removed to relieve the Emperor's embarraſſment by a full conſent, he only partly fulfilled what was required of him, in order to give the greater value to his remaining ſervice. He accepted the command but for three months; only to organize the army, not to lead it againſt the enemy. It was by means of this formation that he intended to diſplay his power and abilities, and ſhow the Emperor that his preſervation depended upon Wallenſtein. Convinced that an army which his name alone drew from inſignificance would return to inſignificance when deſerted by its creator, it ſerved him as a pretext to obtain the more important conceſſions on the part of his maſter: and even under theſe humiliating circumſtances, Ferdinand congratulated himſelf that he had made ſuch an acquiſition.

Wallenſtein did not long delay to put the projects into execution, which all Germany thought chimerical, and Guſtavus Adolphus conſidered as extravagant. But the foundation of this underaking was long ſince laid, and he had

had only now to ſet the engines in motion, which had been prepared a number of years for this purpoſe. Scarce had the report of Wallenſtein's preparations ſpread itſelf, when crowds of warriors repaired from the extremities of the Auſtrian monarchy to ſeek their fortunes under him. Many who had fought under his ſtandards, had been eye-witneſſes to his greatneſs, and experienced his munificence, now came forward from obſcurity to divide with him fame and ſpoil. The greatneſs of the pay which was promiſed attracted thouſands, and the rich ſupport which the ſoldiers were to receive at the expenſe of the peaſants, was, to the latter, an invincible motive to embrace a military life, rather than ſuffer under their former oppreſſion. All the Auſtrian provinces were invited to join in this equipment; no ſituation was exempted from the taxes and capitation. The Spaniſh court, as well as the King of Hungary, ſubſcribed conſiderable ſums; the miniſters made valuable preſents, and Wallenſtein himſelf advanced 200,000 dollars to haſten the preparations. The poorer officers he aſſiſted; and by his example, and ſplendid promiſes, he enliſted troops on his own account. Whoever raiſed a corps was its commander. In the appointment of the

 officers,

officers, religion made no difference; riches, bravery, and experience were confidered more than faith. Through this equal treatment of the different fects, and ftill more by the declaration that the prefent preparations did not interfere with religion, the Proteftant fubject was quieted, and reconciled to the public burden. At the fame time Wallenftein did not fail to treat, in his own name, with foreign powers for men and money. The Duke of Lorrain's alliance he a fecond time gained to the Emperor: Poland muft yield him Coffacs, and Italy warlike neceffaries. Before the end of a month the army which was affembled in Moravia amounted to no lefs than 40,000 men, principally drawn from Bohemia, Moravia, Silefia, and the other provinces of Auftria. What appeared impoffible to all Europe, Wallenftein had in a fhort time effected. He had affembled as many thoufands as hundreds were expected, by the charm of his reputation, his gold, and his genius. Provided, to a fuperfluity, with all warlike neceffaries, commanded by experienced officers, and inflamed with an enthufiafm which promifed victory, this new-collected army awaited only the fignal of their leader, to fhow themfelves, by their exploits, worthy of him.

Wallenſtein had fulfilled his promiſe, and the army was ready to take the field: he then retired, and left the Emperor the choice of its commander. But it was as difficult to collect ſuch another force as to find a Wallenſtein for its chief. This promiſing army, the laſt hope of the Emperor, was nothing when deprived of him who raiſed it; it aroſe through Wallenſtein, and without him it ſunk, like a magical creation, into its former inſignificance. The officers were either attached to him by former ſervices, or bound to his intereſt; the regiments had been given to his relations, his creatures, and his favourites. He alone was the man to keep the extravagant promiſes which retained the troops in the ſervice. His word was the only ſecurity for every bold expectation; implicit reliance was the only bond which contained their different ſentiments. Individual good fortune was deſtroyed when any one ſwerved from the general undertaking; a blind confidence in his power the only means to excite their zeal to unanimity.

However little Wallenſtein was earneſt in his refuſal, he profited by this means to prevail upon the Emperor to grant his extravagant demands. The enemy's progreſs rendered the

danger daily more preſſing; and its termination depended upon one man. At length the Prince of Eggenberg received orders to uſe his intereſt with his friend Wallenſtein to continue the command.

He found him at Znaim in Moravia, pompouſly ſurrounded by his troops. The deputy was received by the proud ſubject as a ſuppliant. "Never," ſaid Wallenſtein, "could he truſt "to a reinſtatement, which was derived from "the Emperor's neceſſity, not his juſtice. He "was now ſought for, when the extremity "was at its utmoſt, and when from his arm "alone ſafety was expected; but whatever ſer-"vices he could render would ſoon be for-"gotten, and the former ſecurity would pro-"duce ingratitude. His reputation was at ſtake "if he depended upon expectations by which "he had already been deceived; as well as "his fortune and his repoſe, when he ſucceeded "in fulfilling what was required of him. The "old jealouſies would ſoon be excited, and "the independent monarch would a ſecond "time ſacrifice his faithful ſervant to his con-"venience. It would be better for him vo-"luntarily to relinquiſh a poſt which ſooner "or later the cabals of his enemies would de-

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"prive him of. Safety and contentment "awaited him from a private ftation, and he "had only relinquifhed it in order to pleafe "the Emperor."

Tired of this farce, the minifter at length affumed an earneft tone, and threatened his oppofition with the Emperor's indignation if he any longer perfifted in his refufal. "The "Imperial dignity," he added, "had suffi-"ciently condefcended already, and inftead "thereby of exciting his magnanimity had only "encouraged his infolence; fhould the latter "not be contented with this facrifice, he "fhould beware of converting the fuppliant "into the mafter, and exafperating the monarch "againft the rebel: that as Emperor he could "infift upon fubmiffion; and however he "might have erred as man, he could not as "fovereign. If Wallenftein fuffered unjuftly, "he was now recompenfed for all his loffes. "Did he demand a fecurity for his perfon and "dignity, the Emperor's equity would not "refufe it him; but offended majefty could "not defcend to any apology, and the dif-"obedience of the fubject annihilated all for-"mer merits. The Emperor in perfon de-"manded his fervices; whatever price he fet

"upon them would be granted; but he required obedience, without which the master's indignation would crush the refractory servant."

Wallenstein, whose extensive possessions, confined within the Austrian monarchy, lay every moment exposed to the Emperor, felt this threat was not idle. But it was not fear which at length overcame his affected obstinacy; it was this tone of entreaty, which convinced him of the weakness and desperation whence it arose; and the Emperor's readiness to yield to all his demands, announced his arrival at the summit of his utmost wishes. He now yielded to the persuasions of Eggenberg, and left to him the adjustment of his demands.

It was not without apprehension the minister beheld a writing, wherein the proudest of servants prescribed laws to the proudest of masters. But however little he depended upon the discretion of his friend, the extravagant contents of this writing exceeded his boldest expectations. Wallenstein required the unlimited command of all the German armies in the pay of Spain and of Austria, and the unconfined power of rewards and punishments; neither the

the King of Hungary nor the Emperor himſelf was to appear in the army, much leſs to exert any prerogative. The Emperor was to beſtow no place, to confer no favour, to iſſue no letter of grace, without the conſent of Wallenſtein; all the confiſcations in the Empire were excluſively to be at the latter's diſpoſal. His ordinary pay was to be augmented by an Imperial eſtate, and another in the Empire; every Auſtrian province was, in caſe of neceſſity, to be opened to him if he ſtood in need of a retreat. He beſides this demanded the dutchy of Mecklenburg upon the concluſion of the peace, as an equivalent for his being deprived of the command at any future period.

It was in vain that the miniſter requeſted of him to moderate his demands, by means of which the Emperor was deprived of the authority over his troops, and rendered dependant upon his general; the importance of his ſervices was too plainly diſcloſed to him not to be maſter of their price. When the neceſſity of the exigences inclined him to yield to thoſe demands which revenge and haughtineſs firſt prompted him to make, the plan of future inſurrection was formed, and no advantage was to be rejected. This plan required that all the

Emperor's

Emperor's authority in Germany ſhould be transferred to his general; and this end was attained whenever Ferdinand ſubſcribed to the latter's conditions. The uſe which Wallenſtein intended to make of his army, very different indeed from that for which it had been entruſted to him, admitted of no divided power, ſtill leſs of higher authority. In order to be maſter of his deſigns, he muſt previouſly command the deſtiny of the troops. Imperceptibly to ſubject his ſovereign to himſelf, and to transfer to his own perſon the ſupreme authority, he muſt carefully remove the Emperor from the eyes of the army: hence aroſe his obſtinate reſiſtance to ſuffer no prince of Auſtria with the troops. The command which he was to have over all the confiſcated and conquered eſtates in the Empire, afforded him formidable means of purchaſing dependants and uſeful inſtruments, and to act the part of a dictator in Germany much more than the Emperor in time of peace. Poſſeſſed of the power to uſe the Auſtrian territories, in caſe of neceſſity, as a retreat, he alſo held the means of treating the Emperor in his own dominions as a priſoner, and of ſhaking in its centre the power of Auſtria. Whatever might be the conſequence, he ſecured himſelf, by the conditions which he had obtained, againſt

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every event from the Emperor: if circumſtances favoured his deſigns, his agreement with Ferdinand facilitated their execution; was he, on the contrary, unfortunate, the ſame conditions ſecured him indemnity. But how could an agreement be valid which was forcibly obtained from his ſovereign, and was grounded upon treaſon? How could he hope to bind the Emperor by a written agreement, which condemned him to death who was ſo raſh as to force it? Nevertheleſs this criminal was the moſt indiſpenſable man in the monarchy, and Ferdinand, though practiſed in diſſimulation, accorded him all that he deſired.

At length an Imperial army was formed which was worthy of that name; every other influence in it, even that of the Emperor himſelf, ceaſed ſo ſoon as Wallenſtein aſſumed the commander's ſtaff, and no authority was confirmed which did not proceed from him. From the banks of the Danube to thoſe of the Weſer and the Oder, his influence extended; a new ſpirit commenced to inſpire the Imperial troops, and a new epocha of the war was begun; freſh hopes were entertained by the Papiſts, and the Proteſtant world ſaw with concern the change of affairs.

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The greater the price at which the general was purchafed, the more expectations were formed of him at the Imperial court. But Wallenftein did not haften to fulfil thefe expectations; at the head of a formidable army in the neighbourhood of Bohemia, he only required to fhow himfelf there in order to overpower the exhaufted force of the Saxons, and by the reconqueft of that kingdom to commence a victorious career. But fatisfied to moleft the enemy by fkirmifhes of Croats, he abandoned the beft part of the kingdom to plunder, and thwarted by rapid fteps his own defigns; his plan was, not to oppofe the Saxons, but to unite with them. Entirely occupied with this idea, he remained in the commencement inactive. More to infure his defigns by the means of negotiation, he left nothing untried which was likely to detach the Elector from the Swedifh alliance; and Ferdinand himfelf being inclined to a peace with that prince, favoured the negotiation. But the great debt which Saxony owed Sweden was ftill too recent in their minds to permit them to be guilty of fuch perfidy; and had they been actually inclined to it, the equivocal character of Wallenftein, and the bad reputation of the Auftrian politics, did not permit any reliance to be placed on them.

Too well known, this deceitful ſtateſman found no confidence, even on the very occaſion where, perhaps, he intended to act with ſincerity; and yet circumſtances did not permit him to diſcover his ſecret intentions by a confeſſion of his real motives; he therefore, unwillingly, determined to extort by force of arms what he could not obtain by negotiation. Having ſuddenly aſſembled his troops, he appeared before Prague ſooner than the Saxons could relieve that city; after a ſhort reſiſtance the treachery of the Capucins opened the gates to one of his regiments, and the garriſon, retired to the citadel, laid down their arms under diſgraceful conditions. Maſter of the capital, he expected the more eaſily to promote his negotiation with the Court of Saxony; but at the very time that he renewed it with General Arnheim, he did not neglect to complete his conqueſt by a deciſive blow. He immediately occupied the narrow paſſes between Auſſig and Pirna, that he might cut off the retreat of the Saxons from their own country; but Arnheim's rapidity fortunately delivered him from this danger. Soon after Egra and Leitmeritz, the only remaining places poſſeſſed by the Saxons, ſurrendered to the conqueror; and in a ſhorter time than it

was loſt, the kingdom was reſtored to its legitimate ſovereign.

Leſs occupied in promoting the intereſts of his maſter than his own deſigns, he now laid a plan to remove the ſeat of war to Saxony, and to compel the Elector, by ravaging his territories, to enter into a private treaty with the Emperor, or rather with himſelf. But however little inclined to ſubmit his deſigns to the force of circumſtances, he was now compelled to poſtpone his favourite ſcheme to a more preſſing neceſſity. While he drove the Saxons from Bohemia, Guſtavus Adolphus maintained his ſuperiority upon the Rhine and the Danube, and had already removed the ſeat of war through Franconia and Suabia to the frontiers of Bavaria. Defeated on the Lech, and deprived of his beſt ſupport by the death of Tilly, Maximilian earneſtly entreated the Emperor to call Wallenſtein to his aſſiſtance, and, by the defence of Bavaria, to remove the danger from Auſtria itſelf. In the interim he diſpatched meſſengers to the general, requeſting a few regiments for his immediate ſafety, till the army could follow with Wallenſtein at its head. Ferdinand ſeconded this requeſt with all his authority.

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But it now appeared how much the Emperor had ſurrendered his perſonal authority when he yielded up the command over his troops. Indifferent towards Maximilian's entreaties, and deaf to the repeated orders of the Emperor, Wallenſtein remained inactive in Bohemia, and abandoned the Elector to his fate. The remembrance of the evil ſervice which Maximilian had rendered him upon a former occaſion at the diet of Ratiſbon with the Emperor, was deeply engraved upon his implacable diſpoſition, and the Elector's late attempts to prevent his reinſtatement had not been kept a ſecret from him. But the moment of ſatisfying his vengeance was now arrived, and Maximilian ſeverely felt his having made the moſt vindictive of men his enemy; Wallenſtein declared that Bohemia ought not to be left expoſed, and that Auſtria could not be better protected than when the Swediſh army exhauſted itſelf before the Bavarian fortreſſes. Thus, by means of the Swedes, he chaſtiſed his enemy, and while every place fell into their hands, he left the Elector vainly to await his arrival in Ratiſbon. Not before the entire ſubjugation of Bohemia had deprived him of every excuſe, and the conqueſts of Guſtavus Adolphus in Bavaria threatened Auſtria itſelf with the near approach of

of danger, did he yield to the preffing entreaties of the Elector and the Emperor, and determined to effect the long-expected junction with the former, which, according to the general expectation of the Catholics, would decide the fate of the campaign.

Guftavus Adolphus, too weak to act againft Wallenftein's army, was apprehenfive of the union of fuch powerful forces, and men were juftly aftonifhed that he did not prevent it with more activity. It appears that he had formed too great expectations from the hatred which divided the hoftile generals, and gave no room to hope for the co-operation of their arms; and it was too late to remedy this miftake when the event had contradicted his wifhes. Upon receiving the firft certain intelligence of their defigns, he haftened towards the Upper Palatinate, with a view to intercept the Elector's progrefs; but the activity of the latter defeated the King's intention, and a junction of the two armies was formed at Egra.

This frontier town was chofen by Wallenftein for the theatre of the triumph which he intended to obtain over his proud competitor. Not contented with beholding him in the condition

dition of a ſuppliant, he impoſed on Maximilian the hard neceſſity of leaving his territories expoſed to the enemy, and by this diſtant march to declare his weakneſs. It coſt the Elector a hard ſtruggle to thank the man for his ſafety, whoſe ruin he ſought to promote; but the urgency of the caſe obliged him to conquer lower paſſions, and he was ſufficient maſter of himſelf to do it.

But whatever pains it had coſt to effect this junction of the two commanders, it was ſtill more difficult to reconcile them to the conditions upon which they were to act; the entire command muſt be united under one head, if the end was to be attained, and no diſpoſition was on either ſide ſhown to relinquiſh the ſupreme authority. If Maximilian depended upon his dignity of Elector, the ſplendour of his deſcent, and his conſideration in the Empire, Wallenſtein was not leſs proud of his military exploits, and the unlimited command conferred on him by the Emperor. However ſevere it was for the pride of the former to be obliged to ſerve under an Imperial ſubject, Wallenſtein's haughtineſs was no leſs flattered by impoſing law upon ſuch an imperious ſpirit; an obſtinate diſpute enſued, which, however, termi-

terminated to Wallenſtein's advantage. The command of both armies was unlimitedly granted to the latter, particularly on the day of battle, and the diſpoſition and routes of the army were aſſigned to the Elector, who reſerved no more to himſelf than the rewards and puniſhments of his own troops, and to make whatever uſe of them he thought proper, whenever they did not act in conjunction with the Imperialiſts.

After theſe preliminaries they at length ventured upon an interview, but not before they had mutually promiſed to bury the paſt in oblivion; and all the ceremonies of a reconciliation were exactly obſerved. According to agreement, they publicly embraced in front of the armies, and made mutual profeſſions of friendſhip, while malice lurked in the hearts of both. Maximilian, verſed in the arts of diſſimulation, had ſufficient command of his countenance not to betray his true feelings; but Wallenſtein's eyes declared a malicious pleaſure; and the conſtraint which was viſible in his whole deportment, ſhowed the joy which had overpowered his haughty diſpoſition.

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The combined Imperial-Bavarian armies now amounted to near 60,000 men, and were moſtly veterans, before whom the Swediſh monarch was not in a condition to keep the field. He accordingly retreated without delay towards Franconia, ſo ſoon as an attempt to prevent their junction had miſcarried, and awaited a deciſive movement of the enemy to form his reſolution. The poſition of the combined armies between the frontiers of Saxony and Bavaria, did not leave it long doubtful whether they would remove the war to the former of theſe countries, or repel the Swedes from the Danube, and deliver Bavaria. Arnheim had withdrawn the troops from Saxony, to make conqueſts in Sileſia; with the ſecret intention, it is reaſonably ſuppoſed, of facilitating Wallenſtein's entrance into the electorate, and bring John George's wavering diſpoſition to an agreement with the Emperor. Guſtavus Adolphus, conceiving that Wallenſtein's deſigns were formed againſt Saxony, diſpatched with all haſte a conſiderable force to the aſſiſtance of his ally, reſolutely determined to follow it with his whole army whenever circumſtances ſhould require. But the movements of Wallenſtein ſoon convinced him of his error, and the march of the Auſtrian army through

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the Upper Palatinate, ſet the matter beyond a doubt. The queſtion was now, how to provide for his own ſecurity, and to maintain his exiſtence in Germany, for which he muſt gain reſources from the fertility of his genius. The enemy's approach ſurpriſed the King before he had time to collect his troops, ſcattered through Germany, and call the allied princes to his aid. Far too weak to approach the enemy, he had no other choice left than either to throw himſelf into Nuremberg, and riſk being ſhut up in that city by Wallenſtein's army and ſtarved to a ſurrender, or ſacrifice Nuremberg, and under the cannon of Donauwerth to await a reinforcement. Guſtavus Adolphus, indifferent to every danger and hardſhip, while he obeyed the calls of humanity and honour, immediately embraced the former reſolution, determined to bury himſelf and his whole army under Nuremberg's ruins, rather than conſult his ſafety by the ſacrifice of that city.

Meaſures were inſtantly taken to ſurround the city and its ſuburbs with redoubts, and to form an intrenched camp. Several thouſand men immediately commenced that laborious work, and the inhabitants of Nuremberg were inſpired by a heroic zeal to riſk their blood,

their

their lives, and their properties, in the common cauſe. The intrenchment was ſurrounded by a ditch eight feet deep and twelve broad; the lines were defended by redoubts and baſtions, and the gates protected by half-moons. The Pegnitz river, which flows through Nuremberg, divided the camp into two ſemicircles, whoſe communication was ſecured by a number of bridges; above 300 pieces of cannon defended the town-wall and the intrenchments. The peaſants from the neighbouring villages, and the inhabitants of Nuremberg, aſſiſted the Swediſh ſoldiers with ſo much zeal, that the army on the ſeventh day was prepared to enter the camp, and in a fortnight this great work was completed.

While theſe tranſactions took place without the walls, the magiſtrates of Nuremberg were buſily occupied in filling the magazines, and collecting proviſions and ammunition for a long ſiege. They enforced the ſtricteſt regularity, in order to preſerve the health of the inhabitants, which might eaſily be endangered by the conflux of ſo many people; and in caſe of the neceſſity of ſupporting the King, the youth of the city was embodied and exerciſed, the militia conſiderably reinforced, and a new

regiment raiſed, conſiſting of twenty-four names, according to the letters of the old alphabet. Guſtavus had, meanwhile, called to his aſſiſtance his allies, William Duke of Weimar, and the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel; and ordered his generals on the Rhine and in Thuringia to haſten their march and join him as ſoon as poſſible. His army, which was encamped within the lines of the city, did not amount to more than 16,000 men, a number not equal to one third of the enemy.

The Auſtrians had advanced by ſlow marches to Neumark, where Wallenſtein made a general review. At the aſpect of this formidable army he could not refrain from expreſſing a childiſh rodomantade: "Within four days it "ſhall be known," cried he, "whether the "King of Sweden or I ſhall be maſter of the "world." He, however, performed nothing to fulfil this promiſe, and neglected the opportunity of totally defeating his enemy, when the latter was ſo raſh as to form in order of battle outſide his intrenchments. "Battles enough "have been fought," exclaimed Wallenſtein to thoſe who encouraged him to the attack; "it is now time to follow another method." Here it was diſcovered how much was gained by

by a general whoſe well-grounded reputation did not require him to ſtake it in any raſh enterpriſe, to which others muſt haſten to form themſelves a character. Convinced that the enemy's deſpair would dearly ſell the victory, while a defeat in that quarter would infallibly lead the Emperor's affairs to ruin, he reſolved to exhauſt the warlike impetuoſity of his antagoniſt by a ſlow ſiege; and while he deprived him of every opportunity of diſplaying his courage, he took from him the advantage which had hitherto rendered him ſo invincible. Without making any attempt, he formed a ſtrong camp on the hither ſide of the Pegnitz, oppoſite Nuremberg, and by his maſterly poſition cut off from that city all communication with Franconia, Suabia, and Thuringia. Thus he held the King beſieged, and flattered himſelf to contain in check the impetuoſity of his opponent, which he did not wiſh to try in the field, and reduce him by the ſlower but more certain means of hunger.

But, too little acquainted with the ſtrength and reſources of his adverſary, Wallenſtein had not taken proper meaſures to avert a fate which he had prepared for others. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood all fled with their pro-

perty, and whatever provifions remained muft be obftinately contefted with the Swedes. The King fpared the city magazines fo long as he could procure fupplies from the vicinity, and the frequent fkirmifhes caufed a continual conteft between the Croats and the Swedes, of which the neighbouring country bore the moft melancholy tokens; the neceffaries of life muft be acquired fword in hand, and no party could forage without a numerous efcort; the King had recourfe to the magazines of Nuremberg, but Wallenftein was obliged to provide his troops from a greater diftance. A large convoy, purchafed in Bavaria, was on its march to join him, and a detachment of a thoufand men was fent to efcort it fafe into his camp. Guftavus Adolphus having received intelligence of its approach, detached a regiment of cavalry to cut off this fupply, and the darknefs of the night favoured the undertaking; the whole convoy fell, with the town, which it had reached, into the hands of the King; the Imperial efcort was cut in pieces, near 1200 head of cattle were driven away, and the fame number of bread-waggons, which could not be removed, were fet on fire. Seven regiments which Wallenftein had difpatched to Altdorf to augment the efcort, were routed after an

obftinate

obſtinate action by the King, who had in perſon advanced to cover the retreat of his party, and driven, with a loſs of 400 men killed, back into the Imperial camp. So many vexatious circumſtances, and ſuch a firm reſiſtance on the part of Guſtavus Adolphus, made Wallenſtein repent that he had avoided a battle; the ſtrength of the Swediſh camp now rendered an attack impracticable, and Nuremberg's armed youth ſerved the King as a nurſery, from which he could ſupply his loſs of men. The want of proviſions which prevailed in the Imperial camp as well as in the Swediſh, rendered it uncertain which party ſhould be compelled firſt to retreat.

The hoſtile armies, defended by inacceſſible intrenchments, remained in view during fifteen days without undertaking any more than ſmall attacks and inconſiderable ſkirmiſhes; on both ſides epidemic diſtempers, the natural conſequence of bad nouriſhment and crowded people, had occaſioned a greater loſs of men than the ſword, and this evil increaſed daily. At laſt the long-expected ſuccour arrived in the Swediſh camp, and the conſiderable reinforcement which the King received enabled him to obey the dictates of his native courage, and

to

to break the fetters which had hitherto retained him.

Purſuant to his requiſition, William Duke of Weimar had aſſembled troops from the Lower Saxon garriſons with all poſſible haſte, which were joined at Scwheinfurt, in Franconia, by four regiments, and ſoon after, at Kitzingen, by the forces from the Rhine, which the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel and the Count Palatine of Birkenfeld detached to the King's ſuccour. The Chancellor Oxenſtern undertook to conduct this united force to the place of its deſtination. After being joined at Windſheim by Duke Bernard of Weimar and the Swediſh general Bannier, he advanced by rapid marches to Pruck and Elterſdorf, where he paſſed the Pegnitz, and fortunately arrived in the Swediſh camp. This ſuccour amounted to near 50,000 men, and was attended by a train of ſixty pieces of cannon, and 4000 baggage-waggons. Guſtavus Adolphus now ſaw himſelf at the head of an army 70,000 ſtrong, without reckoning the militia of Nuremberg, which could, in caſe of neceſſity, bring into the field 30,000 able citizens: a formidable force, which was oppoſed by one no leſs formidable! The war now appeared ready to be decided

decided by one decifive battle, and here to have attained its termination. With anxiety divided Europe looked to the fcene of action where both armies affembled in fuch powerful numbers.

If before the arrival of this fuccour a fcarcity of bread was felt, that evil had increafed in both camps (for Wallenftein was joined by reinforcements from Bavaria) to a terrible degree. Befides 120,000 men which were confronted to each other, and more than 50,000 horfes in both armies; befides the inhabitants of Nuremberg, who exceeded in number the Swedifh army, 15,000 women were reckoned in Wallenftein's camp, with as many drivers and fervants: nor was the number much lefs in the King's. The cuftom of the times permitted the foldier to lead his family into the field. A number of proftitutes followed the Imperial army, and a ftrict care for morals in the Swedifh camp promoted marriages. For the young generation, whofe native country was the camp, military fchools were erected, which provided an excellent race of warriors, fo that the army could recruit itfelf in a long war. It is not furprifing thefe wandering bands exhaufted every country through which they paffed,

paſſed, and that the neceſſaries of life were rendered ſcarce. All the mills of Nuremberg were not ſufficient to grind corn, which every hour grew ſcarcer, and 50,000 pounds of bread, which the city daily ſent to the camp, only excited hunger without ſatisfying it. The laudable care of the magiſtrates could not prevent the greater part of the horſes from dying for want of forage; and the increaſing diſtempers daily ſent more than a hundred men to the grave.

To terminate theſe neceſſities, Guſtavus Adolphus, relying upon his ſtrength, left his lines on the fifty-fifth day, formed in order of battle in front of the enemy, and cannonaded Wallenſtein's camp from three batteries which he had raiſed upon the banks of the Rednitz. But Wallenſtein remained immoveable in his intrenchments, and contented himſelf with anſwering this challenge by a diſtant fire of cannon and ſmall-arms. To reduce the King to ſtraits by a defenſive plan, and to overcome his patience by the force of hunger, he carefully avoided a battle; and neither the remonſtrances of Maximilian, the ſpirit of the army, nor the enemy's reproaches, could overcome this reſolution. Deceived in his expectations, and preſſed by want, Guſtavus Adolphus reſolved

ſolved upon an impoſſibility, and determined to ſtorm the camp, which was rendered inacceſſible by art and nature.

After he had entruſted his own camp to the Nuremberg militia, he advanced on St. Bartholomew's day, the fifty-eighth of his encampment, in full order of battle, and paſſing the Rednitz at Furt, drove the advanced poſts of the enemy with eaſe before him; their main force ſtood upon the heights between the Biber and the Rednitz; and the camp, commanded by thoſe heights, extended along the plain. The whole artillery was collected upon this eminence. Deep ditches ſurrounded inacceſſible intrenchments, thick abattis and pointed paliſades defended the approach of a height, from the ſummit of which calmly and at his eaſe Wallenſtein diſcharged the thunder of his artillery, amid thick clouds of ſmoke. An effectual fire was ſuſtained from behind the breaſtworks by the muſketry, and a hundred pieces of cannon threatened the bold aſſailant with certain deſtruction. It was againſt this dangerous poſt that Guſtavus Adolphus directed his attack, and 500 muſketeers, ſupported by a few infantry (for many could not advance by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the poſition), had

the unprofitable honour of being the firſt that ſacrificed their lives before the enemy. The aſſault was furious, the reſiſtance obſtinate: expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy's artillery, and undiſmayed through the aſpect of inevitable death, theſe determined warriors ſtormed the heights, which, in a moment, were converted to a ſecond Hecla, and diſcharged among them a ſhower of ſhot: immediately upon this the heavy cavalry ruſhed forward between the openings which the enemy's fire made among the aſſailants, whoſe ranks at length fell into diſorder, and who, after the loſs of a hundred men killed, betook themſelves to flight. It was to the Germans that Guſtavus Adolphus yielded the fatal poſt of honour; and exaſperated by their retreat, he now led his Finlanders to the aſſault, and, by their northern courage, to diſgrace the German cowardice. But they alſo, having experienced a ſimilar reception, yielded to the ſuperior poſition of the enemy, and a new regiment relieved them with as little ſucceſs; this was ſucceeded by a third, a fourth, a fifth, and a ſixth; ſo that, during a ten hours action, every regiment came into fire, and was repulſed with loſs. A thouſand dead bodies covered the field; nevertheleſs Guſtavus Adolphus ſtill renewed the

attack, and Wallenſtein intrepidly maintained his poſition.

Meanwhile the Imperial cavalry charged the left wing of the Swedes, which was poſted in a field, with great impetuoſity, and the combat was maintained with intrepidity and carnage on both ſides, with various ſucceſs. Wallenſtein and Bernard Duke of Weimar had each a horſe ſhot under him; the King himſelf had part of his boot taken away by a cannon-ball. The combat was maintained with equal obſtinacy until the approach of night ſeparated them. But the Swedes found themſelves too far advanced to undertake a retreat without danger. While the King ſought for an officer to convey to the regiments his order to retreat, he met Colonel Hepburn, a brave Scotſman, whoſe native courage had alone drawn him from the camp to partake the dangers of the day. Diſpleaſed with the King, who had ſome time before preferred a younger colonel to him after a dangerous action, he had formed the reſolution of quitting the ſervice. Guſtavus Adolphus now turned to him, and, paying him ſome compliments upon his bravery, requeſted him to command the regiments to retreat. "Sire," anſwered the intrepid ſoldier, "that

"is

"is the only ſervice I can render your Majeſty, "ſince it is accompanied with danger :" and immediately haſtened to obey his orders. In fact, the Duke of Weimar had, during the heat of the battle, taken poſſeſſion of an eminence which commanded the enemy; but a heavy rain, which fell the ſame night, rendered its ſides ſo ſlippery that the cannon could not be brought up, and it was accordingly abandoned. Diffident of his good fortune, which forſook him on this deciſive day, the King did not venture, on the following morning, to renew the attack, and, vanquiſhed for the firſt time becauſe he was not victor, he led back his troops over the Rednitz. Two thouſand dead, whom he left on the field of battle, betrayed his loſs; and Wallenſtein remained in his camp unconquered.

Both armies ſtill continued fourteen days in view, each with a hope of firſt compelling its enemy to retreat. According as proviſions were daily conſumed, hunger was felt, and the ſoldier, rendered furious, exerciſed upon the people every ſpecies of oppreſſion. The increaſing neceſſity had extinguiſhed all diſcipline in the Swediſh camp, and the German regiments in particular diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the cruelties

elties which they indiſcriminately practiſed againſt friends and enemies. Individual weakneſs could not undertake to ſtop their exceſſes, which received a ſanction from the ſilence of inferior commanders, and who often encouraged it by their example. The King was greatly exaſperated at theſe breaches of a diſcipline, upon the obſervance of which he had hitherto ſo much piqued himſelf, and the warm manner in which he addreſſed the German officers betrayed the livelineſs of his emotion. "It is you, Germans," cried he, "that rob "your country, and act againſt your own al- "lies. As God is my judge, I deteſt and "cannot bear the ſight of you. You neglect "my orders, and are the cauſe of the curſes "which I receive, and of my being every "where aſſailed by the tears of poverty, which "exclaim that I, as a friend, create more miſ- "chief than the moſt deſperate enemy. It is "on your account that I have ſtripped my "crown of its treaſure, and expended above "forty tons of gold *, without having received "from you that ſupport which I reaſonably

* A ton of gold in Sweden amounts to 100,000 rix-dollars; conſequently the King's expenſes muſt have amounted to 633,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ſterling, a large ſum for ſo poor a country as Sweden. *Tranſ.*

 "expected.

"expected. I divided among you my all, and, "had you obeyed my orders, should with plea- "sure have still expended amongst you my "future acquisitions. Your want of discipline "convinces me of your evil intentions, what- "ever cause I may otherwise have to applaud "your bravery."

Nuremberg had exceeded its strength, that it might, during eleven weeks, subsist the immense number of people which had assembled around it; but its means were at length exhausted, and the King, who commanded the more numerous part, was on that account first obliged to resolve upon a retreat. The city had interred above 10,000 of its inhabitants, and Gustavus Adolphus nearly 20,000 of his soldiers, by war and sickness. The surrounding fields had been trodden down; the villages lay in ashes; the people, plundered, languished upon the highways; dead bodies infected the air; bad nourishment, with the exhalation of so many people, together with the heat of the dog-days, produced raging disorders among men and beasts; and long after the departure of the army, misery and want prevailed in the country. Affected by the general affliction, and despairing to conquer Wallenstein's obstinacy, the King broke up his camp on the

the 8th of September, and left Nuremberg, after having taken the precaution to provide that city with a ſufficient garriſon. He advanced in full order of battle before the enemy, which remained motionleſs, and did not in the leaſt endeavour to diſturb his retreat. His march was directed to Neuſtadt and Windſheim, where he remained five days to refreſh his troops, and be in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg, ſhould the enemy make any attempt againſt that city. But Wallenſtein, no leſs exhauſted, had only awaited the departure of the Swedes to begin his own. Five days after he left his camp at Zindrof, and ſet it on fire. A hundred columns of ſmoke which aroſe from the ſurrounding villages announced his retreat, and ſhowed Nuremberg the dreadful fate which awaited it in caſe it was conquered. His march, which was directed towards Forcheim, was marked by the moſt terrible devaſtation; but he was too far advanced to be overtaken by the King. The latter now divided his army, which the exhauſted country could no longer ſubſiſt: a part of it was left to maintain Franconia, and with the other he proſecuted in perſon his conqueſts in Bavaria.

In the mean time the Imperial-Bavarian army was advanced into the biſhopric of Bamberg, where Wallenſtein muſtered it anew. He found this force, which ſo lately had conſiſted of 60,000 men, diminiſhed by the ſword, ſickneſs, and deſertion, to 24,000, of whom a fourth conſiſted of Bavarians. Thus had the camps before Nuremberg exhauſted both armies without the war approaching nearer to its end, or the expectations of Europe being fulfilled by a deciſive battle. The King's conqueſts in Bavaria were indeed for ſome time interrupted by the diverſion at Nuremberg, and Auſtria ſecured againſt invaſion; but by the enemy's retreat from before that city, he was left at liberty to make Bavaria once more the theatre of war. Indifferent towards the fate of that devoted country, and weary of the burden of his alliance with its Elector, Wallenſtein anxiouſly ſeized the opportunity of forſaking Maximilian, and of proſecuting his favourite ſchemes with renewed earneſt. True to his firſt maxim, of detaching Saxony from Sweden, he deſtined that country for his winter-quarters, and hoped by his deſtructive preſence the ſooner to compel the Elector to a ſeparate peace.

No conjuncture could be more favourably chosen for this undertaking. The Saxons had fallen upon Silesia, where, in union with the Brandenburg and Swedish reinforcements, they had obtained several advantages over the Emperor's troops. Silesia was saved by the diversion which was made in the Elector's own states; and Wallenstein's plan was the more easy, as Saxony, deprived of defence by the Silesian war, lay on every side exposed to the enemy. The necessity of saving an hereditary country of Austria prevailed before the interests of the Elector of Bavaria, and, under the mask of a patriotic zeal for the Emperor, Maximilian was sacrificed. While Bavaria was abandoned to the King of Sweden, the enemy hoped to be uninterrupted in its progress in Saxony; and the increasing coldness between that monarch and the Saxon court left room to apprehend little zeal on his part for the deliverance of John George. Once more abandoned by his artful protector, the Elector of Bavaria separated from Wallenstein at Bamberg, to protect with the small remains of his troops his helpless country; and the Imperial army directed its march through Bareith and Coburg to the Thuringian forest.

An Imperial general, Holk, was already detached into Vogtland, to ravage that defenceleſs province with fire and ſword. He was ſoon after followed by Gallas, another of Wallenſtein's generals, and a proper inſtrument for executing his inhuman orders. At length Pappenheim was recalled from Lower Saxony, to reinforce Wallenſtein's army, and to complete the miſeries of the country. Ruined churches, villages in aſhes, harveſts deſtroyed, families plundered, and aſſaſſinations, marked the progreſs of theſe barbarians, at whoſe mercy lay all Thuringia, Vogtland, and Meiſſen; but theſe were only the prelude to ſtill greater miſeries, with which Wallenſtein himſelf, at the head of the principal army, threatened Saxony. After having left behind him the moſt atrocious monuments of his fury, on his progreſs through Franconia and Thuringia, he entered with his whole force the circle of Leipzig, and compelled that city, after a ſhort reſiſtance, to ſurrender. His deſign was to advance as far as Dreſden, and, by the ſubjection of the whole country, to preſcribe law to the Elector. He had already approached the Mulda, in order, with his ſuperior force, to attack the Saxon army which was advanced againſt him as far as Torgau, when the King of Sweden's arrival

at Erfurt unexpectedly altered his plan of operations. Threatened to be ſurrounded by the Saxon and Swediſh armies, to which George Duke of Lunenburg was expected to lead reinforcements from Lower Saxony, he ſuddenly turned towards Merſeburg, to form a junction with Pappenheim, and to repulſe the approaching Swedes.

Guſtavus Adolphus had been alarmed at the intrigues which Spain and Auſtria made uſe of to detach his allies from him. The more important his alliance with Saxony was, the more cauſe he had to apprehend the inconſtancy of John George. A ſincere friendſhip could never take place between him and the Elector; a prince who was proud of his political importance, and who was accuſtomed to conſider himſelf at the head of his party, could not without diſpleaſure behold the interference of a foreign power in the tranſactions of the Empire; and the reluctance with which he ſaw the arrival of this unwelcome ſtranger, could only be conquered by the extreme danger of his territories. The increaſing influence of the King in Germany, his authority over the Proteſtant ſtates, the evident proofs which he betrayed of his ambitious deſigns, and which were ſuffi-

cient to excite the attention of all the ſtates in the Empire, raiſed a thouſand alarms in the Elector's breaſt, which the Imperial emiſſaries knew how to nouriſh and increaſe. Every immediate act of the King's, and even the moſt reaſonable demands which he made of the princes of the Empire, gave birth to bitter complaints from the Elector, which threatened a ſpeedy breach; even among the generals of both armies there appeared, ſo often as they acted in union, marks of that jealouſy which divided their ſovereigns. John George's natural averſion to the war, and his ſtill lingering attachment to Auſtria, favoured the efforts of Arnheim, who continued to correſpond with Wallenſtein, and laboured inceſſantly to effect a private treaty between his maſter and the Emperor: if his remonſtrances were long diſregarded, the event proved that they were not entirely without effect.

Guſtavus Adolphus, naturally apprehenſive of the conſequences which the defection of ſo powerful an ally would have upon his future exiſtence in Germany, left no means untried to prevent this diſaſtrous ſtep; and his remonſtrances had hitherto not entirely failed. But the formidable power with which the Emperor ſeconded

feconded his deceitful projects, and the calamities with which he threatened Saxony in cafe of refufal, might at length overcome the Elector's firmnefs, fhould his country be left expofed; and his indifference to fo powerful an ally might deftroy the confidence of the other powers towards the King of Sweden. This confideration prevailed upon the King to yield to the preffing entreaties of the threatened Elector, and to facrifice for the fafety of this ally his moft brilliant projects. He had already refolved on making a fecond attack upon Ingolftadt; and the weaknefs of the Elector of Bavaria gave him hopes to be able to compel that exhaufted enemy to a neutrality. An infurrection of the peafantry in Upper Auftria opened him a paffage into that country, and the Emperor's capital might be in his poffeffion before Wallenftein had time to render it affiftance. But all thefe fplendid hopes were poftponed in confideration of an ally, who neither merited fuch a facrifice by his worth or good will; who, on the moft preffing occafions, only fought to promote his own interefts; and who was important only from the evil he could occafion, not from any fervices he could render. Who can refrain from indignation when he learns, that Guftavus Adolphus's march to relieve fuch a friend,

friend, for ever put a period to the exploits of that great hero?

He immediately assembled his troops in the circle of Franconia, and followed Wallenstein's army through Thuringia. Bernard Duke of Weimar, who was detached against Pappenheim, joined the King at Arnstadt, where he now saw himself at the head of 20,000 veteran troops. At Erfurt he took leave of his consort, who was destined to behold him again at Weissenfels, but not until he had been encircled in his shroud! Their anxious adieu foreboded an everlasting separation.

He reached Naumburg on the 1st of November 1632, before a corps detached by Wallenstein could arrive at that place. From all quarters crowds flocked from the neighbouring country to behold the hero, the avenger, and to view the great king who a year before appeared in that country as a guardian angel; loud expressions of joy every where accompanied him, and the favour of touching the sheath of his sword and the hem of his garment was anxiously sought for. The King was moved by this innocent tribute which the sincerest gratitude and admiration paid him; "Is

"Is it not," ſaid he to one of his attendants, "as if this people would deify me? Our "affairs go on well, but I fear that divine "vengeance will puniſh me for this idle farce, "and ſufficiently convince the fooliſh multi-"tude of my weak mortality." How amiable does Guſtavus appear before he takes his leave of us for ever! Thus heſitates the Agamemnon of Grecian tragedy to tread the purple which veneration had ſpread under his feet. In the ſummit of his fortune he ſtill reſpected the judging Nemeſis, and rejected a homage which belongs only to immortality.

In the mean time Wallenſtein had advanced to meet the King as far as Weiſſenfels, determined, even though it ſhould coſt a battle, to maintain his winter-quarters in Saxony. His inactivity before Nuremberg expoſed him to ſuſpicion, as if he was unwilling to riſk a conteſt with the northern hero, and his reputation was endangered ſhould he a ſecond time avoid a battle; his preſent ſuperiority of troops, though much leſs than during the encampment at Nuremberg, gave him the hopes of obtaining a victory if he was able to compel the King to a battle previous to the latter's junction with the Saxons. But his preſent reliance was not

built upon the ſuperior number of his troops, but on the aſſurances of his aſtrologer Seni, who had read in the ſtars that the Swediſh monarch muſt terminate his career in the month of November *. Beſides this, there were between Camburg and Weiſſenfels narrow defiles formed by a ridge of hills, and the river Sala, which rendered it extremely difficult for the Swediſh army to advance, and could be defended by a ſmall number of troops. The King had now no other choice but to penetrate with rapidity through theſe defiles, or to make his retreat through Thuringia, and to ſacrifice the greater part of his troops in a deſolated country, which was in want of every neceſſary. The diligence, however, with which Guſtavus Adolphus took poſſeſſion of Naumburg, rendered this plan abortive, and it was now Wallenſtein himſelf who awaited the attack.

But he found he was deceived in this expectation, when the King, inſtead of advancing to Weiſſenſels, took every meaſure to intrench

* This favours a little of the marvellous; perhaps the author's admiration of Plutarch and other ancient writers, together with his theatrical turn, might have led him to adopt a tradition which, though poſſible, is very highly improbable. *Tranſ.*

himſelf

himſelf at Naumburg, and there to await the reinforcement which the Duke of Lunenburg was on the point of leading to him. Undecided whether he ſhould advance upon the King through the narrow paſſes between Weiſſenfels and Naumburg, or remain inactive in his camp, he called a council of war to conſult the opinion of his moſt experienced generals: none of theſe thought it prudent to attack the King in his advantageous poſition, and the preparations which the latter made to intrench his camp, plainly ſhowed that it was not his intention ſoon to forſake it. But it was equally impoſſible to prolong the campaign on the approach of winter, and to fatigue, by continual encampments, an army which ſo much wanted repoſe: all voices declared for terminating the campaign the ſooner, as the important city of Cologne, on the Rhine, was threatened with danger by the Dutch troops; and the enemy's progreſs in Weſtphalia and the Lower Rhine demanded the moſt effectual aid in thoſe quarters. Wallenſtein yielded to the force of theſe arguments; and convinced that he had no farther attack to fear on the King's part at this ſeaſon of the year, he put his troops into winter-quarters, yet in ſuch a manner as to be enabled to aſſemble them on the ſhorteſt

 notice.

notice. Pappenheim was detached with a great part of the army to the affiftance of Cologn, and had orders upon his march to take poffeffion of the fortrefs of Moritzburg near Halle. Different corps took up their quarters in the moft convenient places in the neighbourhood, that the enemy's motions might be on all fides obferved. Count Colloredo guarded the caftle at Weiffenfels, and Wallenftein with the remainder of his troops pofted himfelf near Merfeburg, between Flotzgraben and the Sala, whence his intention was to march through Leipzig, to cut off the Saxons from the Swedes.

Scarce had Guftavus Adolphus received information of Pappenheim's departure, when he inftantly broke up his camp at Naumburg, determined to fall upon the enemy, which was now weakened by one half. He advanced by rapid marches towards Weiffenfels, where the intelligence of his approach was made known to Wallenftein, who heard of it with aftonifhment; but a fudden refolution muft now be formed, and Wallenftein had taken no meafures. Although the Imperialifts could collect only 12,000 men to oppofe the enemy, which was 20,000 ftrong, yet they might expect to be able

able to maintain their poſition until the return of Pappenheim, who had at furtheſt advanced only to Halle, five miles diſtant *. Meſſengers were inſtantly diſpatched to recall him, and Wallenſtein immediately advanced into the extenſive plain which lies between the trenches and Lutzen, where he awaited the King in full order of battle, and by this poſition cut him off from Leipzig and the Saxon auxiliaries †.

Three cannon ſhots which Count Colloredo fired from the caſtle of Weiſſenfels announced the King's approach, and upon this concerted ſignal, Wallenſtein's light troops, under the command of the Croatian General Iſolani, advanced to poſſeſs themſelves of the villages which lay upon the Rippach. Their weak reſiſtance did not interrupt the enemy's march, who paſſed the village of Rippach (ſo called from the rivulet of that name), and formed above Lutzen in order of battle oppoſite the

* The author means German miles, each of which conſiſts of four Engliſh. *Tranſ.*

† The country about Lutzen is a dead flat. The trenches which the author mentions were ſmall canals, intended to convery timber to ſave land-carriage, and were impaſſable for cavalry and infantry. *Tranſ.*

Imperialſts

Imperialifts. The high road which leads from Weiffenfels to Leipzig is interfected between Lutzen and Markranftadt by the trench which ftretches from Zeitz to Merfeburg, and joins the Elfter with the Sala; upon this canal were placed the left wing of the Imperialifts, and the right of the King of Sweden, but in fuch a manner that the cavalry of both armies extended themfelves upon its other fide. Wallenftein's right wing had encamped northwards behind Lutzen, and to the fouthward the left wing of the King's; both armies extended their fronts along the high road which interfected them, and divided their order of battle. But Wallenftein, to the great difadvantage of his opponent, had during the night before the engagement taken poffeffion of this road, and deepened the trenches on both fides, defending them with mufketeers, fo that they could not be paffed without difficulty and danger. Behind them was formed a battery of feven large cannon to fupport the fire of the mufketry, and feven fmaller pieces were pofted at the windmill a little behind Lutzen, upon an eminence, from whence the plain could be fwept; the infantry, divided into five large and unwieldy brigades, was formed at the diftance of three hundred yards in the rear of the high road,

road, and the cavalry covered the flanks; the baggage was ſent to Lutzen, that it might not diſturb the movements of the army, and the ammunition-waggons alone remained behind the line. To conceal the weakneſs of the Imperial forces, all the boys and drivers were mounted and joined to the left wing, and this only until the arrival of Pappenheim's troops. The entire of this order was arranged during the darkneſs of the night; and before day appeared, every thing was ready for the enemy's reception.

On the ſame night Guſtavus Adolphus appeared on the oppoſite plain, and formed his troops in order of battle. His diſpoſition was the ſame by which he had the year before conquered at Leipzig; ſmall ſquadrons intercepted his line of infantry, as did muſketeers that of his cavalry. The whole army was formed upon two lines, the trenches on the right and in the rear, the road in front, and the town on the left; in the centre the infantry was formed under Count Brahe, the cavalry on the wings, and the artillery in front; the left wing was entruſted to a German hero, Bernard Duke of Weimar, who commanded the German cavalry, and on the right the King led his

Swedes, to excite the competition between both nations. The ſecond line was formed in the ſame manner, and behind it was a corps of reſerve under Henderſon a Scotchman.

In this poſition they awaited the fatal morning to begin a conteſt which the long delay, more than the choice or the number of the troops, was deſtined to render bloody and deciſive. The expectations of all Europe, which were diſappointed in the camp before Nuremberg, were now to be ſatisfied on the plains of Lutzen. Two ſuch generals ſo ſimilar in conſequence, in fame, and in ability, had not yet oppoſed each other in the whole courſe of the war in a deciſive battle, or rendered the iſſue ſo dubious. Europe, on the following morning, was to behold its greateſt general and a victor oppoſed to the vanquiſhed. Although the genius of Guſtavus Adolphus, or the want of talents in his opponents, conquered at Leipzig and the Lech, that queſtion muſt again be debated on the following day. The morning was to decide the Emperor's choice of Wallenſtein's merit, and the greatneſs of his ſervices was to repay the price at which they had been purchaſed; each man was jealous of the reputation of his general, and under every

cuirafs were excited thofe paffions which actuated their commander. The victory was doubtful, but the carnage was certain; each fide knew its enemy's ftrength, and the fear which was in vain endeavoured to be fuppreffed, gave a glorious proof of mutual ftrength.

Darknefs ftill covered the filent plain, and the approaching morning gave anxiety an awful delay to anticipate impending deftruction and hope. Heavy on both fides paffed the night, ftill more heavy expectation in every breaft.

At length the dreadful morning appeared; but an impenetrable fog, which fpread over the plain, ftill delayed the attack until noon. The King, in front of his army, knelt and performed his devotions; the whole army, after his example, falling on their knees, ftruck up a melodious hymn accompanied by military mufic. The King then mounted on horfeback, and only clad in a leathern doublet and a cloth coat (for a wound which he had formerly received prevented him from wearing a coat of mail), rode through the ranks to infpire the troops with a courage which the doubts of his own breaft contradicted. *God with us,* was the

the word on the part of the Swedes; *Jeſus Maria*, with the Imperialiſts. About eleven o'clock the fog began to diſperſe, and the hoſtile forces were in ſight of each other; Lutzen at that moment was diſcovered on fire, which had been done by the orders of Wallenſtein, that he ſhould not be outflanked on that ſide. The charge was now ſounded, the cavalry advanced, and the King's infantry ſet itſelf in motion againſt the trenches.

Received by a tremendous fire of muſketry and heavy artillery, theſe intrepid battalions perſevered in their attack; the enemy's muſketeers left their poſts, the trenches were paſſed, even the batteries were taken, and immediately turned againſt the Imperialiſts; they advanced ſtill further with irreſiſtible impetuoſity; the firſt of Wallenſtein's five brigades was thrown into confuſion, ſoon after the ſecond, and the third already began to betake itſelf to flight. But here Wallenſtein's preſence of mind exerted itſelf; he inſtantly rallied his troops, ſupported by three regiments of cavalry the flying brigades, formed anew, and attacked the Swedes. A murderous conflict enſued. The nearneſs of the enemy did not permit firing, nor the fury of the attack give any time for loading;

man

man fought against man, and the useless discharge of small arms was exchanged for the pike and the sword. Overpowered by numbers, the exhausted Swedes at length gave way and retreated over the trenches, by which they lost the battery they had but just possessed themselves of; a thousand dead bodies already covered the plain, without any ground being gained.

In the mean time the King's right wing, led on by himself, had fallen upon the enemy's left; the first shock of the heavy cuirassiers of Finland dispersed the lightly mounted Polanders and Croats who had formed upon that wing, and their disorderly flight spread confusion and consternation among the remainder of the cavalry. At this moment the King was informed that his infantry had retired over the trenches, and also that his left wing was thrown into confusion by the enemy's cannon from the windmill. He immediately detached General Horn in pursuit of the enemy's left, which was defeated, while he himself hastened at the head of the regiment of Steinboc to repair the disorder of his left. His noble charger immediately carried him over the trenches, but the squadrons could not follow so quickly; and only

only a few horſemen, among whom was Francis Albert Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, were able to keep up to the King. He flew to the ſpot where his infantry were in the greateſt confuſion, and while he looked for the place where the enemy's line could be attacked to advantage, his nearneſs of ſight led him too cloſe to them. An Imperial corporal remarking that the attendants every where made way for him, immediately ordered a muſketeer to take his aim: "Fire at him," cried he; "that muſt be "a man of diſtinction." The ſoldier fired, and the King's left arm was ſhattered. At that moment the ſquadrons came up with a confuſed cry of, "*The King bleeds, the King is ſhot!*" which ſpread univerſal terror and conſternation among them. "It is nothing; follow me," cried the King, collecting his whole ſtrength; but overcome by pain, and ready to faint, he requeſted of the Duke of Lauenburg, in French, to lead him, without being ſeen, from the tumult. While the latter proceeded towards the right wing with the King, and made a long circuit to avoid expoſing this diſcouraging ſpectacle to the diſordered infantry, Guſtavus received a ſecond ſhot in the back, which deprived him of his remaining ſtrength. "Oh, my "friend! I am gone," were his dying words: "ſave

"ſave your own life!" He immediately fell from his horſe: pierced by ſeveral ſhots, and abandoned by his attendants, he expired amidſt the Croatian plunderers. His charger, covered with blood and flying without its maſter, ſoon convinced the Swediſh cavalry of the King's fall, and they furiouſly ruſhed on to reſcue this prize from the enemy; a dreadful conflict enſued about his dead body, which was buried under a heap of the ſlain *.

The

* Thus died the moſt accompliſhed of heroes; the only conqueror, perhaps, who ever made conqueſts in his own defence. I am far, however, from thinking he was free from ambition when he undertook the war againſt the Emperor. Piety (though not, perhaps, without a degree of affectation), heroic intrepidity in the field, conſummate policy in the cabinet, and admirable humanity, were the leading features of a man who was more fortunate, both in his life and death, than any character of whom we read in hiſtory.

Some men have ſo little known him (for no good hiſtory of his exploits has hitherto appeared in England, that of Hart being by no means well executed), as to give Charles the Twelfth's victories in Poland the ſuperiority over thoſe of Guſtavus in Germany. But beſides that the former was a barbarian, whoſe cruelty and inſolence would diſgrace the moſt brilliant ſucceſſes, he had by no means the enemy to cope with that his predeceſſor had; the *Muſcovites* were not yet transformed into thoſe *Ruſſians* who, under a Munich and a Potemkin, have in our days not only been the terror

 of

The terrible intelligence ſoon ran through the Swediſh army; but inſtead of diminiſhing the courage of theſe intrepid troops, it only rendered them furious. The Swedes now thought only of revenge, and no one valued his life when the King fell; the Upland, Smaland, Finland, Eaſt and Weſt Gothland regiments attacked the enemy's left wing a ſecond time, which yielded to General Horn but a ſhort reſiſtance, and was completely beaten out of the field. Bernard Duke of Weimar now aſſumed the command of the Swediſh army, upon the death of Guſtavus Adolphus, and inſpired it with the ſame ſentiments. The left wing was immediately rallied, and attacked the right of the Imperialiſts with impetuoſity; the artillery at the windmill, which had made ſo deſtructive a fire upon the Swedes,

of the Turks, but, even contrary to expectation, combated and conquered the Pruſſian troops, then the firſt in the world. Guſtavus Adolphus muſt have been an extraordinary general to have ſo eaſily overcome the Auſtrians, who, though often vanquiſhed, have been for centuries, perhaps, the moſt warlike people in Europe.

Had he not ſullied his deeds by refuſing to reinſtate the unfortunate Elector Palatine, his character would, to this day, have been perfect. But what character can, above all, reſiſt ambition, a paſſion rooted in all ages and conditions, and infinitely more powerful than love itſelf? *Tranſ.*

was

was taken by the Duke and turned againſt the enemy; the centre alſo of the Swediſh infantry advanced anew under the Duke and Knyphauſen againſt the trenches, which they paſſed fortunately, and a ſecond time made themſelves maſters of the battery of ſeven cannons. The attack was now renewed with redoubled fury upon the enemy's centre, which gradually reſiſted leſs and leſs; and even accident aſſiſted the bravery of the Swedes to complete the defeat: the Imperial powder-waggons blew up, and by the terrible exploſion the grenades and bomb-ſhells were carried into the air. The enemy, now in confuſion, were apprehenſive of being taken in the rear, while the Swediſh brigades attacked them in front; they became ſpiritleſs, ſeeing their left wing beaten, their right on the point of giving way, and their artillery loſt. The battle appeared to be decided, and the fate of the day depended only upon a moment: Pappenheim at this critical juncture arrived with his cuiraſſiers and dragoons; every advantage gained was loſt, and the battle began anew.

The order which recalled that general to Lutzen reached him in Halle while his troops were employed in plundering that town. It was

was impoſſible to collect the ſcattered infantry with the ſuddenneſs which his preſſing orders and impatience required. But, without waiting for them, he ordered eight regiments of cavalry to mount, and at their head he advanced in full gallop to Lutzen. He arrived at a proper time to remedy the diſorder of the Imperial left wing, which was routed by Guſtavus Horn, and to engage in the combat. With rapid preſence of mind he rallied the fugitives, and led them once more againſt the enemy. Excited by his furious impetuoſity, and impatient to confront himſelf with the King, who, as he imagined, commanded that wing; he broke into the Swediſh ranks, which, exhauſted by their victory, could not oppoſe to him a vigorous reſiſtance. The Imperial infantry, alſo exhauſted, was encouraged by Pappenheim's ſudden arrival, and Wallenſtein immediately profited by this circumſtance to form the line again. The Swediſh battalions, formed in deep order, were, after a deſperate conflict, repulſed over the trenches, and the twice-loſt cannon a ſecond time reſcued. The entire yellow regiment, the moſt diſtinguiſhed on this dreadful day, lay dead upon the ſpot which had been the ſcene of their intrepidity. A regiment in blue ſhared the ſame fate, which

Count

Count Piccolomini attacked with the Auſtrian cavalry and overcame after a deſperate reſiſtance. Seven different times did this intrepid general renew the attack; ſeven horſes were ſhot under him, and he was pierced by ſix muſket-balls. He nevertheleſs would not quit the field of battle until led by the general retreat of the whole army. Wallenſtein himſelf was ſeen riding amid a ſhower of the enemy's bullets with cold intrepidity, encouraging the neceſſitous, applauding the brave, and intimidating the fugitives. His men fell upon each ſide of him, and his mantle was perforated by ſeveral ſhots. Another deſtiny, however, awaited him; and fate had not reſolved to terminate his career on the ſame bed with Guſtavus Adolphus.

Pappenheim, the braveſt ſoldier of the Auſtrian army and of the church, was not ſo fortunate. An ardent deſire to meet the King's perſon in battle had led him into the thickeſt tumult, where he thought he would leaſt fail of meeting his noble enemy. Guſtavus had alſo expreſſed a wiſh to encounter this reſpectable antagoniſt; but the deſires of both remained unſatisfied, and both heroes equally fell. Pappenheim was pierced by two muſket-

balls

balls in the breaſt, and was obliged to be taken by force from the combat. While the men were conveying him behind the line, it was whiſpered in his ears that he whom he fought lay dead upon the plain. When the truth of this report was confirmed his eyes ſparkled with joy. "Let Wallenſtein know," cried he, "that I die, not with ſorrow, but, on the con-"trary, with pleaſure, ſince I am certain that "the moſt implacable enemy of my religion "has fallen on the ſame day with me."

With Pappenheim ended the fortune of the Imperialiſts. The cavalry, already beaten and again rallied, no ſooner miſſed their intrepid leader than they abandoned the field of battle in diſorder. The right wing fell into equal confuſion, except a few regiments, which the bravery of their colonels, Goetz, Terzky, Colloredo, and Piccolomini, compelled to keep their ground. The Swediſh infantry rapidly profited of the enemy's confuſion. To fill up the openings which the ſlaughter had made, they formed both lines into one, which made the laſt deciſive attack. A third time they croſſed the trenches, and a third time took the artillery which was poſted behind them. The ſun was ſetting when both lines cloſed: the action

action became warmer, and exhausted strength still endeavoured to exert itself to profit by the last precious moments of the day. It was in vain that despair displayed itself; neither side could yield, neither side could conquer; and tactics here expended all their efforts. Darkness at length put an end to the battle, which animosity would willingly have continued, because neither could find its enemy. The armies separated by a tacit agreement, the trumpets sounded, and each, claiming the victory, quitted the field.

The artillery on both sides, being abandoned by their horses, remained the whole night upon the field, as the prize of whoever should maintain it. But Wallenstein, in his haste to depart from Leipzig and Saxony, forgot to secure his part. Soon after the battle was ended, Pappenheim's infantry, consisting of six regiments which could not in sufficient time follow their general, appeared on the field; but the work was already done. A few hours earlier this considerable reinforcement might perhaps have decided the battle to the Emperor's advantage, and it was still able, by maintaining the field, to save Wallenstein's artillery, and conquer the Swedes. But there was no order for

them

them to act; and, uncertain as to the iſſue of the battle, they retired to Leipzig, where they expected to find the army.

Wallenſtein had retreated thither, where he was followed by the broken remains of his troops the next morning, without cannon, without colours, and almoſt without arms. It appears that the Duke of Weimar gave the Swediſh army ſome time to repoſe, after the toils of this bloody day, between Lutzen and Weiſſenfels, ſufficiently near the field of battle to oppoſe any attempt which the enemy ſhould make to recover it. Of both armies, above 9000 men were killed, a ſtill greater number were wounded; and among the Imperialiſts in particular ſcarce a man returned unhurt from the battle. The entire plain of Lutzen, as far as the trenches, was covered with the dead, the dying, and the wounded. Many of the firſt nobility had fallen on both ſides; even the Abbot of Fulda, who had mingled himſelf in the combat as a ſpectator, paid for his curioſity and his miſplaced zeal with his life. Hiſtory is ſilent with regard to priſoners; a proof of the animoſity of both armies, which neither gave nor took quarter.

Pap-

Pappenheim expired the day following at Leipzig, in conſequence of his wounds; an irreparable loſs for the Imperial army, which this excellent warrior ſo often led to victory. The battle of Prague, at which he was colonel, together with Wallenſtein, opened his career. Dangerouſly wounded, he impetuouſly threw himſelf with a few troops upon an enemy's regiment, and lay ſeveral hours for dead under his horſe in the field, until his own party diſcovered him while they were plundering. He conquered the rebels of Auſtria, though 40,000 ſtrong, with a ſmall detachment, in three different battles; he long delayed Tilly's defeat at Leipzig by his bravery, and carried the victorious arms of the Emperor to the Elbe and to the Weſer. His impetuous diſpoſition, which defied every danger, and was capable of any attempt, rendered him the moſt powerful arm in the Imperial army; but he was unfit for the ſupreme command. The battle of Leipzig was, according to Tilly himſelf, loſt by his haſty ardour. He alſo ſtained his hands in blood during the ſtorming of Magdeburg. His diſpoſition, which had been improved by his youthful application and numerous travels, had grown ferocious under arms: on his forehead two red ſtreaks were perceptible, with which nature

nature had marked him at his birth: theſe appeared whenever in a paſſion, even in his later years; and ſuperſtition eaſily perſuaded itſelf that the future calling of the man was marked upon the forehead of the child. Such a ſervant had the beſt-grounded claims to the gratitude of both the lines of Auſtria, but he did not ſurvive the moſt brilliant mark of it. The meſſenger was already on his way from Madrid to bring him the order of the Golden Fleece when death ſeized him at Leipzig.

Although the Te Deum of victory was ſung both in the Auſtrian and Spaniſh territories, Wallenſtein openly confeſſed his defeat by the diligence with which he abandoned Leipzig, and ſoon after all Saxony, and renounced his intentions of taking up his winter-quarters in that country. It is true he made one more weak attempt to diſpute the honour of the victory, and detached his Croats next morning to the field: but the aſpect of the Swediſh army, which ſtood there in order of battle, immediately diſperſed theſe ravaging bands; and the Duke of Weimar, by the poſſeſſion of the field, and ſoon after by the capture of Leipzig, had an undiſputed claim to the victory.

But

But a dear victory, a melancholy triumph! It was after the fury of the battle had ſubſided, that the importance of the loſs ſuſtained was felt, and the joy of the victors was converted into a ſilent and deep melancholy. He who had led them to the charge was no more returned: he lay dead among the bodies of the common men. After a long, and almoſt vain, ſearch, the royal corpſe was at length diſcovered near the great ſtone which had, a century before, been ſeen between Lutzen and the trenches, but which, from the melancholy diſaſter of this day, ſtill bears the name of the Swediſh Rock. Covered with blood and wounds ſo as to be ſcarce known, trodden under horſes' feet, and ſtripped of his decorations and his clothes, he was taken out from under a heap of the dead, conveyed to Weiſſenfels, and there delivered up to the lamentations of his troops and the laſt embraces of his queen. The firſt tribute was paid to vengeance; but that paſſion was now ſucceeded by affection, and diſplayed itſelf in an univerſal lamentation: the regret of individuals was loſt in the univerſal ſorrow. The generals, ſtruck with ſtupefaction, gazed upon his bier, and all the calamities which

 his

his progreſs had cauſed were buried in oblivion *.

The Emperor, as we are informed by Kevenhuller †, diſplayed ſymptoms of great emotion upon being ſhown the King's doublet covered with blood, of which he had been ſtripped during the battle. "Willingly," exclaimed he, "had I granted the unfortunate "King a longer life, and a free retreat into his "own country, if Germany was in peace!" But when a more modern Catholic author of diſtinguiſhed merit does not confirm this humane anecdote, which vanity would excite in the moſt unfeeling breaſt, and might be compared to the tears which Alexander ſhed for the fate of Darius, it excites in us a diſtruſt of the merits of his hero, or, what is ſtill worſe, of his own ideas of virtue. But ſuch praiſe is ſtill much with one who wiſhed to acquit himſelf of regicide!

It was ſcarce to be expected that the powerful inclination of men to the extraordinary

* His body was conveyed by his queen to Sweden, and interred at Stockholm. *Tranſ.*

† A monk who wrote the Emperor Ferdinand's life. *Tranſ.*

would leave the fate of a Guſtavus Adolphus to the common courſe of nature. The death of ſuch a formidable enemy was too important an event not to leave the oppoſite party an eaſy occaſion to expreſs a ſuſpicion of the Emperor's being capable of executing whatever promoted his intereſts. But the Emperor made uſe of a foreign army in the execution of that black deed, and it was generally believed that the aſſaſſin was Francis Albert Duke of Saxe Lauenburg. The latter's rank permitted him a free and unſuſpected acceſs with the monarch, and his dignity placed him above the ſuſpicion of treachery. It conſequently requires only to be proved that this prince was capable of ſuch an atrocity, that he was excited to it, and actually committed it.

Francis Albert, the youngeſt of four ſons of Francis Duke of Lauenburg, and related by his mother to the race of Vaſa, had, in his early days, found a favourable reception at the Swediſh court. Some impropriety which he had committed in the apartment of the Queen dowager againſt Guſtavus Adolphus, it is ſaid, drew from that fiery youth a box on the ear, which, though immediately repented of and apologiſed for in the fulleſt manner, laid the

foundation of an implacable revenge. Francis Albert afterwards entered the Imperial ſervice, where he commanded a regiment, formed a cloſe connexion with Wallenſtein, and acted as a private negotiator at the Saxon court, which did not add to his reputation. Without any ſufficient cauſe being aſſigned, he went to the Swediſh camp at Nuremberg to offer himſelf as a volunteer. By his zeal for the Proteſtant cauſe, and a diſpoſition apparently amiable, he gained the King's affections, who, in vain warned by Oxenſtern, exhauſted all his favours upon the new-comer. He ſoon after came to the battle of Lutzen, where he accompanied the monarch as an evil demon, and did not part until he fell. Amid the enemy's balls he was ſafe, becauſe he bore a green ſaſh, the colour of the Imperialiſts. He was the firſt who brought to Wallenſtein the intelligence of the King's death. Soon after this battle he entered into the Saxon ſervice; and at the death of Wallenſtein, being accuſed as an accomplice of that general, he ſaved himſelf, only by changing his religion, from being executed. At length he appeared anew as commander of an Imperial army in Sileſia, and died of his wounds before Schweidnitz. It requires indeed ſome ſelf-command to pronounce

nounce ſuch a character innocent; but when the atrocity of ſuch a crime is conſidered, it muſt be acknowledged that it cannot juſtly be imputed to him, at leaſt according to appearances. It is known that Guſtavus Adolphus expoſed himſelf as a common ſoldier in every danger, and where thouſands fell he might alſo meet his death. How he met his fate is ſtill a queſtion; but in ſuch a caſe above all others appearances juſtify us in forming at leaſt a doubt.

By whatever hand he fell, this extraordinary deſtiny muſt appear as a work of a ſtrange nature. Hiſtory, ſo often occupied by ungrateful ſubjects, and compelled to relate the uniform conſequences of human paſſions, is ſometimes conſoled by ſudden appearances, by which the imagination is elevated to a higher order of things. Man truly often beholds with regret the violent interference of deſtiny upon ſuch occaſions, which at once deprives us of the creation of an age. But the ſudden effect which is made by theſe unexpected circumſtances afterwards gives way to the rules of reaſon. In this manner we are ſtruck with Guſtavus Adolphus's ſudden diſappearance from the political

 theatre,

theatre, which no human prudence could have foreseen: in one day the life and soul of his party—in the next, suddenly taken away, he forsakes it, and it remains inconsolable for his loss. The Protestants, who had formed such great expectations from their invincible leader, now saw them annihilated. But it was not the benefactor of Germany who entirely fell at Lutzen; the part which he had acted for its liberties he terminated; when he ended his brilliant career, it was taken up by others, and the spirit which he had imbibed was now put in motion of itself. The Protestant party now began to consult its own resources, and the Swedish, no longer capable of acting as an oppressive ally, returned from a first to a second part.

It is certain that the King of Sweden's ambition laboured to attain an authority in the centre of the Empire, which was inconsistent with its liberty. His aim was the Imperial throne; a dignity which, possessed by him, and supported by his activity, might have caused much greater evils than were to be feared from the House of Austria. A Protestant by birth, and by principle an enemy to the Papists; born

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in a foreign country, and brought up in the maxims of abſolute power, he was not ſo well calculated to maintain the liberty of the German ſtates. The coercive homage which, among others, the city of Augſburg was obliged to render to the *Swediſh crown*, betrayed the *conqueror*, not the *deliverer* of the Empire; and that city ſoon became prouder of the title of a royal reſidence, than that of a free Imperial city. His open deſigns upon the electorate of Mentz, which he in the commencement intended to beſtow on the heir apparent of Brandenburg, as a dower with his daughter Chriſtina, and afterwards to his chancellor and favourite Oxenſtern, unequivocally declared his intentions towards the Empire. The Proteſtant princes in alliance with him had claims to his gratitude, which could only be ſatisfied at the expenſe of the Catholic chapters; and perhaps a plan had already been formed to divide the conquered provinces, after the manner of the barbarian hordes who had overthrown the Roman empire, among the Swedes and Germans in the army. In his conduct towards the Elector Palatine Frederic, he had entirely belied the character of a hero, and the ſacred duty of a protector; the Palatinate was completely in

his poffeffion, and honour required him to reftore this province which was refcued from the Spaniards. But by a fubtlety unworthy of a great mind, and which difgraces the character of a deliverer, he eluded this duty. He regarded the Palatinate as a conqueft which he had made from the enemy, and thereby imagined he was entitled to treat it at his pleafure; he therefore furrendered it as a favour, and not as a debt, to the Elector, and that as a fief of Sweden, under conditions which diminifhed its value by one half, and rendered that prince a defpicable dependant. One of the conditions to which he made the Elector fubfcribe was, "That after the war he fhould, like the other "princes, contribute to maintain a part of the "Swedifh army." This lets us immediately conceive the fate which awaited Germany from the continuance of the King's fuccefs; a fudden death fecured the Empire in its liberties, and faved his own reputation if he was not difpofed to fuffer the mortification of feeing his allies in arms againft him, and lofing all the fruits of his victories in a difadvantageous peace. Saxony feemed already difpofed to forfake him; Denmark beheld his progrefs with jealoufy; even France, the moft potent of his allies, was alarmed

alarmed at his growing greatneſs; and at the time when he paſſed the Lech, looked around for other powers by whoſe aſſiſtance his progreſs might be checked, and the balance of power maintained in Europe.

BOOK IV.

THE weak ſpirit of union which Guſtavus Adolphus excited among the Proteſtant members of the Empire was diſſolved upon his death; the confederacy by that event was reſtored to its primitive freedom, and muſt be formed anew. In the former caſe they loſt all the advantages which they had acquired at the expenſe of ſo much blood, and expoſed themſelves to the inevitable danger of becoming the prey of an enemy, to whom, by their union alone, they were equal. Neither Sweden, nor any of the ſtates of the Empire, could ſingly cope with the Emperor and the League; and by a peace under ſuch circumſtances, they might be obliged to receive laws from the enemy; union was therefore the only means by which they could either conclude a peace or continue the war. But a peace ſought under the

the preſent circumſtances, muſt neceſſarily prove a diſadvantageous one to the allied powers. The death of Guſtavus Adolphus inſpired the enemy with new hopes, and however evil their circumſtances were after the battle of Lutzen, the death of their moſt formidable opponent was an event ſo much to the diſadvantage of the confederates, and in the Emperor's favour, as to juſtify the latter in the moſt brilliant expectations, and encourage him in the proſecution of the war. Its immediate conſequence muſt be a diviſion among the allies; this circumſtance alone was greatly in favour of the Emperor and the League, and he could not bring himſelf to conſent to a peace which was not entirely to his own advantage, nor by its means to unite the confederates. The moſt natural meaſure to be taken was, therefore, the continuation of the war, and union was acknowledged as its ſureſt ſupport.

But how was this union to be renewed? How were the means to be acquired for continuing the war? It was not the power of Sweden, but the talents and perſonal influence of its late king, which were ſo formidable; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he could form a ſmall confederacy among the ſtates.
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With him died every thing which his influence had excited, and the mutual attachment of the ſtates was diſſolved; ſeveral of them already threw off a yoke which was become irkſome; others haſtened to reſume the authority which they could not diſpute with Guſtavus Adolphus during his lifetime. Some were tempted by the deceitful promiſes of the Emperor; others, tired of the calamities of a fourteen years war, were ſatisfied to conclude any peace whatſoever; the generals of the armies, ſeveral of them German princes, no longer obeyed a chief, and no one would demean himſelf ſo far as to ſerve under another. All union was diſſolved both in the cabinet and the field, and the common cauſe was in danger of being loſt.

Guſtavus had left no male heirs to the crown of Sweden; his daughter Chriſtina, then ſix years old, was the natural heir. The many defects of a regency ill agreed with that activity which Sweden muſt exert under its preſent circumſtances; the creative genius of Guſtavus Adolphus had brought this feeble and little known country into a rank among the powers of Europe which it had not hitherto poſſeſſed, and from which it could not now recede without

out a ſhameful confeſſion of its weakneſs. Although the German war was principally maintained at the expenſe of Germany, yet the ſmall addition which Sweden made in men and money exhauſted the finances of that poor kingdom, and the ſubject groaned under the burden which was neceſſarily impoſed upon him: the booty gained in Germany enriched only individuals among the nobility and the military, but Sweden ſtill continued poor. For a conſiderable time, it is true, the national glory rendered theſe burdens ſupportable, becauſe the ſubject expected to be amply recompenſed by an advantageous peace; but theſe hopes ended with the death of Guſtavus, and the people called aloud to eaſe their burdens.

But Guſtavus had inſpired the men to whom he had left the adminiſtration of his kingdom with his own genius. However dreadful the intelligence of his death was to them, they did not loſe courage, and that noble aſſembly diſplayed the ſpirit of old Rome when aſſailed by Brennus and Hannibal; the greater the price of the acquired advantages, the leſs could they be relinquiſhed; the King could not be ſacrificed in vain. The Swediſh council of ſtate, divided between the proſecution of a doubtful war,

war, and an advantageous though a diſgraceful peace, courageouſly embraced the cauſe of danger and honour; and this venerable ſenate was, with ſurpriſe, ſeen to form the moſt active preparations. Surrounded by interior as well as outward enemies, and threatened on all ſides with danger, they ſurmounted every obſtacle with as much prudence as courage, while they ſtruggled for exiſtence.

The deceaſe of the King, and the minority of his daughter Chriſtina, renewed the claims of Poland upon the Swediſh throne, and King Ladiſlaus, Sigiſmund's ſon, ſpared no intrigues to gain a party in that kingdom. On this ground the regency at Stockholm did not loſe a moment to acknowledge the title of their ſix year old Queen, and to appoint a guardianſhip; all officers in the kingdom were ordered to do homage to the new princeſs, every correſpondence with Poland was prohibited, and the proclamation of former kings againſt Sigiſmund's heirs, was confirmed by a ſolemn act. The alliance with the Czar of Muſcovy was carefully renewed, in order, by the aſſiſtance of that prince, to keep Poland in check. Guſtavus's death had terminated Denmark's jealouſy, and reſtored the harmony between thoſe neigh-

neighbouring ftates. The enemy's efforts to arm Chriftian IV. againft Sweden, were no longer liftened to; and the earneft defire he had of marrying his fon Ulrich to the young Queen, added to the dictates of found policy, inclined him to a neutrality. At the fame time promifes of friendfhip and fupport were made by England, Holland, and France; and the Swedifh council of ftate received powerful encouragement to continue a war which had hitherto been maintained with fuch reputation. However France had caufe to behold the King of Sweden's death with pleafure, it faw the neceffity of continuing the Swedifh alliance; without expofing itfelf to the utmoft danger, it could not permit the affairs of the Swedes to go to ruin in Germany.' Without receiving fupport, Sweden muft be compelled to a difadvantageous peace with Auftria, and in that cafe all the efforts were loft which it coft to contain that dangerous power within bounds; or, in the other cafe, want and neceffity led the troops to provide for their own fubfiftence in the territories of the Catholic princes, and France would then appear as the betrayer of thofe ftates which fhe had taken under her protection. The death of Guftavus Adolphus, inftead of terminating the French alliance with Sweden,

Sweden, rather increafed it; and while it was ftill equally neceffary to both, it was much more advantageous to the former. It was after he who had reftrained the ambition of France within bounds was no more, that the latter could execute a defign upon Alface, and fell its aid the dearer to the German Proteftants.

Strengthened by thefe alliances, fecured in their interior and on their exterior by frontier garrifons and fleets, the regency did not lofe a moment to continue the war; and determined to procure, in cafe fortune attended their arms, a German province at leaft, as an indemnification of their expenfes. Secure amid its feas, Sweden was not much more endangered if its armies were forcibly expelled from Germany, than if they voluntarily retired from it; and the former was as honourable, as the latter meafure was difgraceful. The greater the vigour difplayed, the more confidence was excited among the allies, the more refpect was obtained from the enemy, and the more favourable conditions were to be expected upon the conclufion of a peace; if they were too feeble to execute all the great projects of Guftavus Adolphus, his example infpired them to exert their utmoft, and to yield to nothing but neceffity. It is to be

be lamented that ſelf-intereſt had ſo great a ſhare in this otherwiſe admirable reſolution! Thoſe who did not ſuffer by the calamities of the war, but who were rather enriched by it, might well reſolve upon its continuance; for it was the German Empire which was in the end to defray the expenſes.

But the progreſs of theſe ſucceſſes was retarded by the diſtance of the Swediſh regency from the ſcene of action, and by the ſlowneſs which neceſſarily accompanies the collegial forms. A leader of abilities was requiſite to manage the Swediſh affairs in Germany, and be poſſeſſed of the power to regulate both war and peace according to his own diſpoſition. This miniſter muſt be inveſted with a dictatorial power, and with the authority of the crown which he repreſented, in order to maintain its dignity, to create union among the common operations, to give his orders the greater effect, and fully to ſupply the place of the monarch whom he ſucceeded. Such a character was found in the perſon of Oxenſtern, the chancellor and prime miniſter, and, what is more, the deceaſed King's friend, who was fully acquainted with his ſecrets, verſed in German politics and in the different intereſts of Europe, and,

and, without comparifon, was the moft capable of following the plan of Guftavus Adolphus.

Oxenftern was already upon his way to Upper Germany, in order to affemble the four higher circles, when he was furprifed by intelligence of the King's death. Sweden had now loft its king, Germany its deliverer, and Oxenftern the author of his fortune, the friend of his foul, and the object of his ideas. But while this calamity affected him fo feverely, he who raifed himfelf by the power of his genius fuperior to that misfortune, was the only perfon to remedy it; his penetration faw every obftacle which oppofed his defigns, and provided a remedy for them; the ftates' difcouragement, the intrigues of hoftile courts, the defection of the confederates, the jealoufy of their chiefs, and the averfion of the princes to foreign influence, were all obftacles in his way. But the fituation of affairs which difcovered the evil, alfo provided him with the means of healing it; it depended upon raifing the drooping fpirits of the weaker ftates, to oppofe the private machinations of the enemy, to allow for the jealoufy of the more powerful confederates, to excite the friendly powers,

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particularly France, to activity; but before all things, to collect the ruins of the German confederacy, and unite the divided power of the Protestants by a close and durable union. The terror with which the loss of their leader inspired the German Protestants, could equally promote a close alliance with Sweden as a sudden peace with the Emperor, and it depended only upon circumstances which of those two alternatives should be embraced; all was lost by inactivity, and only the confidence he placed in himself could excite a similar sensation among the Germans. All the attempts of the Court of Austria to detach the latter from the Swedish alliance proved fruitless, when men beheld their true advantages, and began an open breach with the Emperor.

But before these measures were pursued, and the necessary points settled between the regency and its minister, a precious moment for the activity of the Swedish army was lost, of which the enemy profited to the best advantage; the Emperor had then an opportunity of totally destroying the Swedish power in Germany, had he followed the prudent counsels of Wallenstein. The latter advised him to proclaim a general amnesty, and to meet the Protestant states

ftates with favourable conditions. In the firft confternation occafioned by the death of Guftavus Adolphus, among the party fuch a declaration would have had the moft powerful effect, and have brought the wavering ftates back to the allegiance of the Emperor. But intoxicated by fudden fuccefs, and infatuated by Spanifh counfels, he determined to rely upon the more brilliant iffue of his arms, rejected all mediation, and haftened to augment his forces. Spain, enriched by the grant of a tenth of the ecclefiaftical poffeffions, which the Pope confented to, fupported the Emperor with confiderable fubfidies, negotiated in his favour with the Court of Saxony, and raifed troops in Italy which were deftined to be employed in Germany. The Elector of Bavaria alfo confiderably increafed his army, and the Duke of Lorrain's reftlefs difpofition did not permit him to remain quiet in this fudden favourable reverfe of fortune. But while the enemy prepared to profit by the calamity which befel the Swedes, Oxenftern fpared no effort to repair the difafter.

Lefs apprehenfive of an open enemy than of the jealoufy of feveral of his allies, he left Upper Germany, which he had fecured by means

means of conqueſts and alliances, and haſtened to prevent the Lower German ſtates from either a total defection, or a private confederacy among them, which would have been equally pernicious to Sweden. Offended by the importance with which the Chancellor undertook the management of tranſactions, and exaſperated in the higheſt degree by receiving law from a Swediſh gentleman, the Elector of Saxony began anew to promote a dangerous diviſion; and it was now a queſtion whether to ſubmit unconditionally to the Emperor, or to form a third party in Germany under the head of the Proteſtants. Similar ſentiments were perceived in Ulrich Duke of Brunſwic, who ſufficiently expreſſed them by prohibiting the Swedes to recruit in his territories, and inviting the ſtates of Lower Saxony to Lunenburg, in order to form a confederacy under him. The Elector of Brandenburg alone, jealous of the influence which Saxony had acquired in the north of Germany, ſhowed ſome zeal for the intereſts of the Swediſh crown, which he intended to procure for his ſon. Oxenſtern, in fact, met with the beſt reception at the Court of John George, but empty promiſes of friendſhip and alliance were all he was able to obtain from that prince. He was more fortunate with the

the Duke of Brunſwic, to whom he was able to ſpeak in bolder terms. Sweden was then in poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric of Magdeburg, whoſe biſhop had the power of aſſembling the ſtates of Lower Saxony; but the Chancellor maintained the rights of his crown, and this ſpirited conduct rendered the intended aſſembly abortive. He however failed in erecting a Proteſtant confederacy, and he was obliged to content himſelf with ſome few unſteady allies in the circles of Saxony, and weaker aſſiſtance in the ſouth of Germany.

While the Bavarians were in poſſeſſion of the Danube, an aſſembly of the four higher circles was appointed to meet at Hailbron, whither the deputies of twelve free cities repaired, together with a crowd of doctors, princes, counts, and other nobility; foreign powers alſo ſent their ambaſſadors to this meeting, France, England, and Holland; and Oxenſtern appeared at it with all the ſplendour of the crown which he repreſented; he opened the meeting by a ſpeech, and conducted the deliberations. After he had obtained from the ſtates the moſt ſolemn promiſe of friendſhip, perſeverance, and union, he propoſed to them to declare the Emperor and the members of the League for-

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mally as enemies. But however wide the Swedes were able to render the breach between the Emperor and the ſtates, the latter were unwilling, by ſo deciſive a ſtep, to exclude every way of negotiation, and put themſelves entirely in the Swediſh power; they thought a formal declaration of war unneceſſary, and their obſtinate reſiſtance at length overcame the Chancellor. Warmer diſputes aroſe reſpecting the third and principal article, which concerned the means of proſecuting the war, and the quotas which the ſtates were to furniſh; Oxenſtern's maxim, to throw the principal burden upon the ſtates, did not ſo well agree with the latter, who were deſirous of contributing as little as poſſible. Here Oxenſtern experienced, as thirty Emperors had done before him, that of all difficult matters, it is the hardeſt to obtain money from Germans. Inſtead of granting the neceſſary ſums for the new armies, they expatiated upon the calamities which had been already cauſed, and demanded an account of the expenditure of former ſums, inſtead of ſubmitting to new taxes. The bad humour into which the Chancellor's demands for money had thrown the ſtates, raiſed numberleſs difficulties; and the irregularities committed by the troops on their

their march, and in their quarters, excited loud complaints.

Oxenſtern had learned in the ſervice of two abſolute ſovereigns, too little of the formalities of a republican form of conſtitution to be able upon this occaſion to reſtrain his impatience. Ready to negotiate whenever he ſaw the neceſſity of it, and firm in his determination whenever he had formed it, he did not conſider the want of talents in moſt men: naturally prompt, he was ſo now from policy, for every thing depended upon concealing the real weakneſs of Sweden under a firm tone, and inſtead of receiving law, to maintain the appearance of ſuperiority. It is not therefore ſurpriſing, if, amid ſuch perplexities of German doctors and ſtates, he was entirely out of his ſphere; and unacquainted with the ſlowneſs which diſtinguiſhes the German character in all its public deliberations, he was brought almoſt to deſpair. Without reſpecting a cuſtom to which the moſt powerful of the Emperors were obliged to conform, he rejected all written deliberations, which were ſo conformable to the national ſlowneſs; he could not conceive how ten days could be ſpent in debating a meaſure which he thought would

would have been decided upon its being first proposed. However ill he treated the states, he found them very complaisant in granting his fourth motion, which concerned himself; when the necessity of appointing a director for the new confederacy was deliberated, that honour was unanimously voted to the Swedes, and he was humbly requested to take upon his enlightened understanding the burden of superintending the common affairs. But, to prevent his abusing the authority conferred upon him, there were appointed, not without French instigation, a number of assistants, who were in reality spies, to regulate the expenditure of the common treasure, the raising of troops, and the marching and quartering of the army. Oxenstern long resisted this limitation of his authority, which rendered extremely difficult the execution of any plan requiring diligence and secrecy; but at length so far prevailed as to be uncontrolled master of his own measures in warlike matters. The Chancellor now mentioned the delicate point of indemnification, which the Swedes expected, from the gratitude of their allies, after the conclusion of the war; and he flattered himself he should gain Pomerania, to which the views of the

the Swedes were principally directed. But he could obtain only a general promise that no party should be abandoned at a future peace. The liberality with which the states made promises to the Chancellor sufficiently shows that their caution arose not from their respect for the constitution of the Empire. They had almost voted to him the archbishopric of Mentz, which he held already in his possession as a conquest, and it was with difficulty that the French ambassador could overcome this impolitic and disgraceful measure. However Oxenstern was deceived in his expectations, he had gained the chief point, the direction of the whole, for his crown; and he made the union of the four upper circles more compact, and obtained a subsidy of 2,500,000 rix-dollars for the yearly support of the war.

So much condescension on the part of the states merited the gratitude of the Swedes. A few weeks after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the Elector Palatine, Frederic, ended his unfortunate days by a broken heart. This prince, who has a claim to our pity, had, during eight months, continued in the court of Gustavus, and wasted in it the small remains of

of his patrimony *. He had nearly attained the object of his desires, and had every reason to form hopes of future good fortune, when death snatched away his benefactor. But what he regarded as his greatest calamity had the best consequences for his heirs. Gustavus Adolphus might delay the restoration of his dominions, and impose hard conditions upon that gift; but Oxenstern, to whom the friendship of England, Holland, and Brandenburg, was a matter of importance, must necessarily do justice. He therefore, at this assembly at Hailbron, restored that part of the Palatinate which was already conquered, and promised to restore the future conquest to Frederic's successor; Manheim excepted, in which a Swedish garrison was to remain until the indemnification of the Swedish expenses. The Chancellor did not confine his liberality to the Elector Palatine's family; other allied princes received, though somewhat smaller, proofs of Swedish munificence, which that crown exercised with so little expense to itself. The duties of impartialty, the most sacred of the historian, compel him to this acknowledgment,

* His two sons, Princes Rupert and Maurice, soon after entered into the service of their uncle Charles I. at the commencement of the civil wars. *Trans.*

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not much to the honour of the champions of German liberty. However the Proteſtant princes of Germany could boaſt of the juſtice of their cauſe and the purity of their zeal, they acted chiefly from intereſted motives; and the deſire of plundering became equally violent with the fear of being plundered. Guſtavus Adolphus ſoon diſcovered that he could derive more advantage from this ſelfiſhneſs than from a patriotic zeal, and he did not heſitate to ſatisfy it. Each of the confederate princes received aſſurances of being put in poſſeſſion of either preſent or future conqueſts which ſhould be made of the enemy, and death alone prevented him from performing this promiſe. What prudence recommended, the King had impoſed as a neceſſity upon his ſucceſſor; and when the latter was obliged to prolong the war, he muſt in ſuch a caſe divide the conqueſts with the princes, and place all his dependance upon the general confuſion which he was deſirous of exciting. Thus he promiſed to the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel the abbacies of Paderborn, Corvey, Munſter, and Fulda; Duke Bernard of Weimar, the Franconian biſhoprics; and the Duke of Wirtemberg, the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions and Auſtrian counties which lay ſituated in his territories, all under

the title of Swedish investiture. The Chancellor himself increased this strange and disgraceful spectacle for the German Empire by not being able to restrain his contempt: "Let "it be recorded," cried he once, "in our archives, that a German prince made such a "request of a Swedish gentleman, and upon "German ground."

After such preparations it was possible to take the field, and prosecute the war with fresh vigour. Soon after the victory at Lutzen the troops of Saxony formed a junction with those of Lunenburg, and having joined the Swedish army, the Imperialists were totally driven from Saxony. The united armies now divided. The Saxons directed their march towards Lusatia and Silesia, to act, with Count Thurn, against the Imperialists: a part of the Swedish army was led by the Duke of Weimar to Franconia, and another by George Duke of Brunswic, to Lower Saxony and Westphalia.

The conquests on the Danube and the Lech were, during Gustavus Adolphus's progress to Saxony, defended by Count Birkenfeld, and the Swedish general Bannier, against the Bavarians. But too weak to oppose the bravery

of

of the latter, which was ſuſtained by the experience of the Imperial general Altringer, they were under the neceſſity of calling the Swediſh general, Guſtavus Horn, from Alſace. After that experienced hero had ſubjected the towns of Benfeld, Schlettſtadt, Colmar, and Hagenau, to the Swediſh arms, he left their defence to the Rhingrave Otto Louis, and haſtened over the Rhine to form a junction with Bannier's army. But, although it conſiſted of 16,000 men, it could not prevent the enemy from taking an advantageous poſition on the borders of Suabia, gaining Kempten, and being joined by ſeven regiments from Bohemia. In order to protect the important banks of the Lech and the Danube, the Rhingrave Otto Louis was called from Alſace, where he could ſcarce defend himſelf againſt the exaſperated peaſantry. He was obliged to reinforce the army of the Danube; and as this ſuccour was yet inſufficient, Duke Bernard of Weimar was called to that quarter.

That general had, ſoon after the opening of the campaign in 1633, taken poſſeſſion of the city and biſhopric of Bamberg, and threatened Wirtzburg with the ſame fate. Upon the invitation of Guſtavus Horn, he immediately

began

began his march towards the Danube, beat a Bavarian army under John de Werth on his way, and joined the Swedes near Donauwerth. Theſe numerous armies, commanded by excellent generals, threatened Bavaria with a terrible inroad. The entire biſhopric of Eichſtadt was overrun, and Ingolſtadt was ready to fall into the Swediſh hands by treachery. Altringer's activity was reſtrained by the expreſs orders of Wallenſtein; and left without aſſiſtance from Bohemia, he could not oppoſe the enemy's progreſs. The moſt favourable circumſtances combined to promote the fortune of the Swediſh arms in this quarter, when all on a ſudden the army was ſtopped by a quarrel among the officers.

Every thing had hitherto been acquired in Germany by arms; even Guſtavus Adolphus owed his greatneſs to the diſcipline of his army, their bravery and perſevering courage amidſt every danger and difficulty. However wiſely his plans were formed in the cabinet, it was by the army they were executed; and the extended views of the leader continually impoſed new burdens upon the troops. All the deciſive advantages in this war were obtained by a barbarous ſacrifice of the ſoldiers lives in winter campaigns,

campaigns, forced marches, ſtorms, and pitched battles; and it was Guſtavus Adolphus's maxim never to decline a victory, provided it coſt no more than men. The ſoldiers became ſenſible of their importance, and naturally required a ſhare of the booty which was purchaſed at their expenſe: but inſtead of this they hardly received their pay; and the avarice of their leaders or the neceſſities of the ſtate generally conſumed the beſt part of the money which was raiſed either in contributions or in the conquered ſtates. The ſoldier had no other proſpect for all his toils but the doubtful chance of plunder or promotion, in both of which he was often diſappointed. Fear and hope had indeed ſuppreſſed every open complaint during the life of Guſtavus Adolphus; but after his death the murmurs were loud and univerſal, and the ſoldier ſeized the moſt dangerous moment to remind his ſuperiors of his importance. Two officers, Pfuhl and Mitſchefal, who had, during the King's life, been conſidered as reſtleſs characters, afforded, at the camp upon the Danube, an example which was ſoon after followed by all the officers of the army. They agreed among themſelves not to obey any order until they had received their arrears which were due for a conſiderable time, and alſo a

prefent to each in either money or land according to his fervices. "Immenfe fums," faid they, "were daily raifed in contributions, and "all this was kept in a few hands. They "were obliged to ferve in the fevereft weather "without being rewarded for their inceffant "toil. The foldiers are blamed at Hailbron, "but nobody talks of rewarding them. The "whole world refounds with the noife of bat- "tles and fieges, but thefe victories are all "their work."

The number of the malcontents increafed, and they even invited the armies on the Rhine and in Saxony to follow their example, by letters which were fortunately intercepted. Neither the reprefentations of the Duke of Weimar, nor the reproaches of his feverer affociates, could fupprefs this mutiny, which difcipline feemed to increafe. They required that each regiment fhould receive a number of cities, that they might obtain payment of their arrears. Four weeks were given to the Chancellor to confider their demands, and in cafe of refufal, they declared that they would pay themfelves, and never more draw a fword for Sweden.

This

This bold demand was made at the very time that the military cheſt was exhauſted, and credit at a low ebb; and it was neceſſary ſpeedily to remedy it before the contagion ſpread among the reſt of the troops. Among all the Swediſh generals there was only one who had influence and conſideration among the ſoldiers to terminate this quarrel. The Duke of Weimar was the favourite of the army, and his prudent moderation gained him the attachment of the troops, while his military experience excited their admiration. He now undertook to quell the mutiny; but feeling his importance, he ſeized the favourable moment of firſt ſtipulating for himſelf, and turning the Swediſh Chancellor's embarraſſment to his own advantage.

Guſtavus Adolphus had already flattered him with hopes of the dutchy of Franconia, which was to be formed from the biſhoprics of Bamberg and Wirtzburg; and he now inſiſted upon the performance of this promiſe. He at the ſame time required the chief command of the army, as Swediſh generaliſſimo. This abuſe which the Duke made of his influence ſo exaſperated Oxenſtern, that on the firſt moment he offered to diſmiſs him the Swediſh ſervice.

 But

But he ſoon after thought better of it, and, inſtead of ſacrificing ſo important a general, to attach him by any price to the Swediſh intereſt. He immediately gave him up the Franconian biſhoprics, together with two fortreſſes of Wirtzberg and Koenigshofen, as an inveſtiture of the Swediſh crown, and at the ſame time engaged to maintain him in the poſſeſſion. The command which he required was refuſed under a ſpecious pretext. The Duke did not long delay to diſplay his gratitude; and by his influence and activity, tranquillity was ſoon reſtored to the army. Great ſums of money were divided among the officers, together with large eſtates, whoſe value amounted to 5,000,000 of dollars, and to which they had no other claim than the right of conqueſt. In the mean time the opportunity was loſt for a great undertaking, and the united generals now ſeparated to oppoſe the enemy in another quarter.

After Guſtavus Horn had made a ſhort inroad into the Upper Palatinate, he directed his march towards the borders of Suabia, where the Imperialiſts had conſiderably reinforced themſelves, and threatened to ravage Wirtemberg. But terrified by his approach, the enemy retired to the lake of Bode, only to bring the

Swedes after them. A poſſeſſion on the entrance of Switzerland was deſirable, and the town of Coſtnitz ſeemed peculiarly fitted to introduce him to the alliance of the cantons. Horn immediately undertook to beſiege it; but not having ſufficient artillery, which he was obliged to tranſport from Wirtemberg, he could not proſecute the undertaking with ſo much vigour as to prevent the enemy from throwing a ſufficient reinforcement into the place, which was eaſily effected upon the lake. He accordingly raiſed the ſiege after an ineffectual attempt, and directed his attention to a preſſing danger upon the Danube.

At the Emperor's inſtigation, the Cardinal Infant, brother to Philip IV. King of Spain, and viceroy of Milan, raiſed an army of 14,000 men, which was deſtined, independent of Wallenſtein, to act upon the Rhine and defend Alſace. This army now appeared in Bavaria under the command of the Duke of Feria, a Spaniard; and that they might be uſed immediately againſt the Swedes, Altringer was ordered to join them. Upon the firſt intelligence of their approach, Horn had recalled the Count Palatine of Birkenfeld from the Rhine to his aſſiſtance; and, after he had

 joined

joined him at Stockach, advanced boldly upon an army of 30,000 men which the enemy had collected. The latter had marched over the Danube towards Suabia, where Horn at one time was ſo near them that both armies were only half a mile from each other. But inſtead of accepting the offer of a battle, the Imperialiſts retired over the Black Foreſt towards Briſgau and Alſace, where they arrived in ſufficient time to relieve Briſach, and to ſtop the victorious career of the Rhingrave Otto Louis. This general had a ſhort time before taken the Foreſt cities, and, ſupported by the Palatine of Birkenfeld, who delivered the Lower Palatinate, and beat the Duke of Lorrain, had obtained the Swediſh arms once more the ſuperiority in that quarter. But now he was obliged to yield to the powerful numbers of the enemy. Horn and Birkenfeld, however, ſoon came to his aſſiſtance, and the Imperialiſts, after a ſhort triumph, were driven out of Alſace. The ſeverity of the autumn deſtroyed moſt of the Italians on their retreat, and the general himſelf, the Duke of Feria, died of a broken heart.

Meanwhile the Duke of Weimar had taken up his poſition on the Danube, with eighteen regiments

regiments of foot and 140 ſquadrons of horſe, both to cover Franconia and watch the motions of the Imperial-Bavarian army upon that river. No ſooner had Altringer withdrawn his troops to join the Italians than the Duke profited by his abſence, croſſed the Danube, and immediately appeared before Ratiſbon. The poſſeſſion of this city decided the undertaking of the Swedes in Bavaria and Auſtria; it obtained them a firm footing on the Danube, ſecured them a retreat in caſe of misfortune, and it was by its poſſeſſion only that they could expect to make a durable conqueſt in the country. Tilly's dying advice was, to defend Ratiſbon; and Guſtavus Adolphus lamented it as an irreparable loſs that the Bavarians had been beforehand with him in taking poſſeſſion of this place. Maximilian's conſternation was exceſſive when Duke Bernard appeared before the city, and prepared to beſiege it.

The garriſon conſiſted only of fifteen companies of foot, yet that was a ſufficient number to delay the enemy, if ſupported by faithful and warlike inhabitants. But this was the very enemy which the Bavarian garriſon had moſt reaſon to fear. The Proteſtant inhabitants of Ratiſbon, equally jealous of their civil and re-

 ligious

ligious rights, had ſubmitted to the Bavarian yoke with impatience, and long wiſhed to be delivered from it. The Duke's arrival before their walls filled them with the ſincereſt joy, and it was to be dreaded that they would ſupport the beſiegers by an interior tumult. In this embarraſſment the Elector made the moſt preſſing inſtances to the Emperor and Wallenſtein to aſſiſt him with even 5000 men. Seven meſſengers ſucceſſively were ſent by Ferdinand, with this order, to Wallenſtein, who promiſed immediate aſſiſtance, and even announced to the Elector the near approach of 12,000 men, commanded by Gallas, but forbad that general, under pain of death, to haſten. The Bavarian governor of Ratiſbon, in the hope of ſpeedy relief, took the beſt meaſures of defence. The Catholic peaſantry were armed, the Proteſtant inhabitants diſarmed and cloſely watched, leſt they ſhould execute ſome hoſtile deſign againſt the garriſon. But as no relief appeared, and the enemy's artillery inceſſantly cannonaded the walls, he conſulted his own ſafety and that of his garriſon by a favourable capitulation, and abandoned the Bavarians and the clergy to the conqueror's mercy.

With

With the poſſeſſion of Ratiſbon the Duke's projects expanded, and reached beyond Bavaria itſelf. He intended penetrating as far as Auſtria, arming the Proteſtant inhabitants againſt the Emperor, and to reſtore them to their liberty of conſcience. He had already taken Straubingen, while another Swediſh general ſubdued the north bank of the Danube. At the head of his Swedes, bidding defiance to the ſeverity of the weather, he reached the mouth of the river Iſer, which he paſſed in the preſence of the Bavarian general Werth, who was here encamped. Paſſau and Lintznow trembled, and the embarraſſed Emperor redoubled his orders to Wallenſtein to haſten to the aſſiſtance of Bavaria. But here the Duke of Weimar's progreſs was ſtopped: having the river Inn in front, which was defended by a number of ſtrong caſtles, and behind, two enemy's armies; being in a diſaffected country, where no tenable poſition covered his rear, and the froſt permitted no intrenchments, and threatened by the entire army of Wallenſtein, which had at length begun to approach the Danube, he made a timely retreat, to avoid the danger of being cut off from Ratiſbon, and ſurrounded by the enemy. He haſtened over the Iſer and the Danube to maintain the conqueſts

quests in the Upper Palatinate, and even, if necessary, to give the Imperialists battle. But Wallenstein, who had never intended to perform great exploits upon the Danube, did not await his approach, and before the Bavarians could well express their joy, he had returned into Bohemia. The Duke thus ended his glorious campaign, and granted his troops their well-earned repose in winter-quarters upon an enemy's country.

While the war was maintained with such superiority in Suabia by Gustavus Horn, the Palatine Birkenfeld, General Baudissin, and the Rhingrave Otto Louis, upon the Upper and Lower Rhine, and by the Duke of Weimar upon the Danube, the reputation of the Swedish arms was sustained in Lower Saxony and Westphalia by the Duke of Lunenburg and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel with equal glory. The former took the fortress of Hameln after the bravest resistance, and the united Swedish and Hessian army obtained a brilliant victory at Oldendorf over the Imperial General Gromsfeld. Count Wasaburg, a natural son of Gustavus Adolphus, showed in this battle that he was worthy of his extraction; sixteen cannon, the whole baggage of the Imperialists, together

with feventy-four colours, fell into the Swedifh hands; about 3000 of the enemy remained dead on the fpot, and almoft an equal number was taken prifoners; the town of Ofnaburg fubmitted to the Swedifh Colonel Knyphaufen, and Paderborn to the Landgrave of Heffe Caffel; but on the other hand Buckeburg, a very important place for the Swedes, was gained by the Imperialifts. The Swedifh arms were feen victorious in almoft all quarters of Germany, and the year after Guftavus Adolphus's death fhowed no marks of the lofs which had been fuftained in the perfon of that great hero.

By a review of the important circumftances which diftinguifhed the campaign of 1633, we are juftly aftonifhed at the inactivity of a man from whom the greateft expectations were formed. Of all the generals who diftinguifhed themfelves in this campaign, there was none who could be compared with Wallenftein in experience, talents, or reputation, and yet he immediately difappeared after the battle of Lutzen; the death of his great antagonift now left him mafter of the theatre, and all Europe expected from him exploits which fhould efface the memory of his defeat, and difplay his fkill

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in the art of war. Neverthelefs he remained inactive in Bohemia, while the Emperor's loffes in Bavaria, Lower Saxony, and the Rhine, loudly called for his affiftance; a behaviour unintelligible both to friends and enemies, while he was the terror, and at the fame time the Emperor's laft hope. He had withdrawn into Bohemia with unaccountable rapidity after his defeat at Lutzen, and inftituted the fevereft inquiry into the conduct of his officers in that battle; fuch as the council of war declared guilty were executed without pity, thofe who had behaved with bravery were princely rewarded, and the memory of the deceafed was eternized by fplendid monuments: he oppreffed the Imperial provinces with immoderate contributions and by winter-quarters, which he purpofely did not take up in an enemy's country, that he might exhauft the Auftrian territories. Inftead of being the firft to open the campaign at the head of his formidable army in the fpring of 1633, and difplaying his great abilities, he was the laft that appeared in the field, and it was then an hereditary province of Auftria which he made the theatre of war.

Of all the poffeffions of Auftria, Silefia was expofed to the greateft danger. Three different armies,

armies, a Swedifh under Count Thurn, a Saxon under Arnheim and the Duke of Lauenburg, together with one of Brandenburg under Burgſdorf, had at the ſame time carried the war into that country; they had already taken poffeffion of the moft important places, and even Breflau embraced the party of the allies. But it was this number of generals and armies which faved the country; for the jealoufy of the commanders, and the mutual hatred of the Swedes and Saxons, did not permit them to act with union. Arnheim and Thurn quarrelled for the fupreme command; the Brandenburgers and Saxons detefted the Swedes, whom they looked upon as troublefome ftrangers, and who were to be got rid of as foon as poffible; the Saxons, on the contrary, lived upon a very intimate footing with the Auftrians, and the officers of both armies often vifited and entertained each other; the Imperialifts were openly permitted to remove their effects, and many did not conceal their having remitted large fums to Vienna. Among fuch allies the Swedes were fold and betrayed, and with fuch a bad underftanding no defign of importance could be executed; General Arnheim was alfo frequently abfent, and when he returned to the army Wallenftein appeared

appeared with a formidable force upon the frontiers.

He was at the head of 40,000 men, when the allies had only 24,000 to oppose him; they, nevertheless, resolved to give him battle, and advanced to Munsterberg, where he had intrenched himself. But Wallenstein remained motionless during eight days; he then forsook his intrenchments, and slowly advanced against the enemy; but though the latter did not decline meeting him, he neglected the opportunity of engaging. The care with which he, upon this occasion, avoided a battle, was represented as the effects of fear, but the established reputation of Wallenstein might brave such a suspicion; the vanity of the allies did not let them perceive that he was engaged in the same cause with themselves, and that he magnanimously saved them defeats, merely because a victory over them would now be of no service to him. But in order to convince them that his inaction did not proceed from a fear of their resentment, he put to death the commander of a castle who fell into his hands, for having dared to resist in an untenable place.

Both

Both armies remained at the diſtance of a muſket-ſhot during nine days, when Count Terzky appeared before the allied camp, accompanied by a trumpeter from Wallenſtein, and invited General Arnheim to a conference. The purpoſe of this was, notwithſtanding Wallenſtein's ſuperiority, to requeſt a ceſſation of arms for ſix weeks. "He was come," he ſaid, "to conclude a laſting peace with the Swedes "and the princes of the Empire; to pay the "troops, and obtain ſatisfaction for every individual; every thing lay in his power, and "if his meaſures were delayed to be confirmed, "he would join the allies, and (as he privately "intimated to Arnheim) depoſe the Emperor." At a ſecond parley he explained himſelf more fully to Count Thurn. "All the Bohemian "privileges," he declared, "ſhould be confirmed, the exiles recalled and reinſtated in "their properties, and he would himſelf be "the firſt to reſtore his ſhare of the confiſcations; the Jeſuits ſhould be baniſhed as the "authors of all the diſturbances and oppreſſions; the crown of Sweden ſhould be indemnified its expenſes, and all the troops "which could be ſpared upon both ſides ſhould "be led againſt the Turks." The laſt condition explained the whole myſtery: "That

"*if*

"*if he ſhould obtain the crown of Bohemia,* the "exiles would have cauſe to applaud his "generoſity; perfect toleration of religion "ſhould prevail in the kingdom; the Palatine "family ſhould be reſtored to its rights; and "he would content himſelf with Moravia as a "compenſation for the loſs of Mecklenburg. "The allied army ſhould then march to Vienna, "and compel the Emperor to confirm theſe "conditions."

The plan which had occupied him for years, and was concealed by the moſt impenetrable ſilence, was now at once diſcovered; every circumſtance alſo taught him that no time was to be loſt in its execution. It was only that blind confidence in the good fortune and ſuperior genius of Wallenſtein which could faſcinate the Emperor, and led him, contrary to the remonſtrances of Spain and Bavaria, as well as at the expenſe of his own power, to confer upon this imperious man ſuch an unlimited command. But this belief of Wallenſtein's being invincible, was much weakened by his long inactivity, and at laſt almoſt totally deſtroyed by the defeat at Lutzen; his enemies renewed their intrigues againſt him at the Imperial court, and the Emperor's diſappointment

and diſcontent obtained their remonſtrances a more favourable reception with that monarch. Wallenſtein's whole conduct was now reviewed with a malicious criticiſm; his dangerous haughtineſs, and his diſobedience to the Emperor's orders, were brought to that jealous prince's remembrance; recourſe was had to the complaints of the Auſtrian ſubjects of his inſupportable oppreſſion; his fidelity was rendered ſuſpicious, and dangerous hints were thrown out of his private deſigns. Theſe complaints, which were ſupported by the General's conduct, did not fail to make a deep impreſſion upon Ferdinand; but the ſtep had been taken, and the great power which was conferred on Wallenſtein, he could not be deprived of without danger: gradually to diminiſh it, was all that remained for the Emperor, and to do this with effect, it muſt, above all things, be divided, and the dependance upon the General's attachment muſt be removed; this power had, however, been conferred in the agreement which had been made with him, and the Emperor's own ſignature ſecured him the abſolute command of the troops. As this pernicious agreement could neither be broken nor obſerved, recourſe was had to ſtratagem. Wallenſtein was the Imperial generaliſſimo in Germany, but his autho-

rity extended no further, and over a foreign force he could exerciſe no authority; a Spaniſh army was accordingly raiſed in Milan, and under a Spaniſh general introduced into Germany. Wallenſtein now ceaſed to be longer indiſpenſable becauſe he had been unfortunate, and there was not wanting a ſupport againſt him in caſe of neceſſity.

Wallenſtein inſtantly perceived whence proceeded the blow, and where it was directed. In vain did he proteſt againſt this innovation with the Cardinal Infant; the Spaniſh army advanced, and he was compelled to detach General Altringer with a reinforcement to join it. He was, indeed, by his injunctions, ſo well able to reſtrain the latter, that the Italian army acquired no reputation in Alſace and in Suabia; but this powerful meaſure of the Court had arouſed him from his ſecurity, and warned him againſt the approach of danger. To avoid being a ſecond time deprived of his command, and loſing the fruits of all his labours, he muſt haſten to execute his deſign; he ſecured the attachment of his troops by removing the ſuſpicious officers, and by his munificence to the reſt; to the welfare of the army he had ſacrificed every other order in the ſtate, and all conſider-

confiderations of juftice and humanity; and he accordingly expected its ready acquiefcence in return. On the point of exhibiting an unparalleled inftance of ingratitude againft the author of his good fortune, he founded all his own hopes upon the gratitude which was to be fhown to himfelf.

The leaders of the Silefian armies had no authority to conclude a peace with Wallenftein, and even the ceffation of hoftilities they would agree to only for a fortnight. Before Wallenftein had difclofed his fecret to the Swedes and Saxons, he had the precaution to fecure himfelf the protection of France in his new undertaking; for this purpofe a private negotiation was carried on by means of Count Kinfky, with the French ambaffador Feuquieres in Drefden, but with extreme caution; and it terminated entirely to his advantage. Feuquieres received orders from his court to promife Wallenftein every affiftance on the part of France, and to offer him, in cafe of need, a confiderable pecuniary aid.

But it was this exceffive caution to fecure himfelf on all fides which led him to ruin. The French ambaffador with aftonifhment dif-

covered that a plan, which above all others ſhould be kept ſecret, had been communicated to the Swedes and Saxons; the Saxon miniſtry was well known to be in the Emperor's intereſts, and the conditions offered to the Swedes fell too ſhort of their expectations to be accepted. Feuquieres, therefore, found it inconceivable how Wallenſtein could in earneſt depend upon the ſupport of the former, or the diſcretion of the latter; he communicated his cares and doubts to the Swediſh Chancellor, who was equally diſtruſtful of Wallenſtein's deſigns, and by no means reliſhed his offers. Although it was no ſecret to him that Wallenſtein had formerly entered into a ſimilar negotiation with Guſtavus Adolphus, yet he could not conceive the poſſibility of bringing a whole army to revolt, or of executing his extravagant projects; ſuch an immenſe deſign, and ſuch imprudent conduct, ſeemed but ill to agree with the dark ſuſpicious character of Wallenſtein, and it was the rather attributed to deceit, as his ſincerity was more doubtful than his prudence. Oxenſtern's doubts were at length communicated to Arnheim, who, confident of Wallenſtein's ſincerity, had repaired to the Chancellor at Gelhauſen, in order to aſk his permiſſion to lend ſome of his beſt regiments for the execution of

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the plan: they began to ſuſpect that this offer was only a ſnare to diſarm the allies, and betray the flower of their troops into the Emperor's hands. Wallenſtein's notorious character ſanctioned this bad ſuſpicion, and the contradictions in which he afterwards involved himſelf entirely deceived them. While he courted the alliance of Oxenſtern, and even demanded his beſt troops, he declared to Arnheim that he muſt begin by expelling the Swedes from Germany; and while the Saxon officers, confident of the ſincerity of the truce, repaired in great numbers to his camp, he made an unſucceſsful attempt to ſeize upon them. He firſt broke the ceſſation of arms, which he with much difficulty renewed ſeveral months afterwards; all confidence was loſt in his ſincerity, and his whole conduct was regarded as the offspring of treachery and low cunning, with a view to weaken the allies and recover himſelf; but this he actually effected, while he daily augmented his army, and the allies loſt half their troops by bad management and deſertion. But he did not profit of his ſuperiority as was expected in Vienna; when an important event was near, he on a ſudden renewed the negotiation; and when the truce lulled the allies into ſecurity, he as ſuddenly commenced hoſtilities. All theſe

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contradictions proceeded from the double and oppoſite deſigns of ruining the Emperor and the Swedes at the ſame time, and concluding a ſeparate peace with the Saxons.

Rendered impatient by the ill ſucceſs of his negotiation, he at length determined to diſplay his ſtrength; beſides that the neceſſities of the Empire and the increaſing diſpleaſure of the Imperial court did not admit any further delay. Before the laſt ceſſation of arms, General Holk fell from Bohemia into the circle of Meiſſen, ravaged the country with fire and ſword, drove the Elector to his fortreſſes, and took Leipzig. But the truce in Sileſia put a period to his ſucceſſes, and the conſequences of his intemperance brought him at Adorf to the grave. After the recommencement of hoſtilities, Wallenſtein made a movement as if he deſigned to penetrate through Luſatia into Saxony, and ſpread a report that Piccolomini was already marched towards that quarter; Arnheim immediately broke up his camp to follow him and ſuccour the Electorate; by this he expoſed the Swedes, who were encamped in ſmall numbers at Steinau on the Oder, and this was exactly what Wallenſtein deſired. He permitted the Saxon general to haſten before him ſixteen miles

miles towards Meiſſen, and on a ſudden returned to the Oder, where he ſurpriſed the Swedes in the utmoſt ſecurity; their cavalry were firſt beaten by General Schafgotſch, and their infantry was fully ſurrounded by Wallenſtein's army which followed. Wallenſtein gave Count Thurn half an hour to conſider whether he ſhould defend himſelf with 2500 men againſt more than 20,000, or ſurrender at diſcretion; but no alternative could find a place in ſuch a ſituation; the whole corps ſurrendered, and the completeſt victory was obtained without bloodſhed: colours, baggage, and artillery, all fell into the conqueror's hands: the officers were taken into cuſtody, and the private men compelled to ſerve. After a fourteen years baniſhment and numberleſs reverſes of fortune, the author of the Bohemian inſurrection and of this deſtructive war, the famous Count Thurn, was in the hands of his enemies. With a bloodthirſty impatience the arrival of this great criminal was awaited in Vienna, where the terrible triumph of ſacrificing ſo diſtinguiſhed a victim to public juſtice was already anticipated. But depriving the Jeſuits of that pleaſure was a more agreeable triumph, and Thurn obtained his liberty; fortunately for him, he knew more than was prudent to divulge in Vienna, and

Wallenſtein's enemies were alſo *his*; a defeat would ſooner have been forgiven at Vienna than this diſappointed hope. "What could I "have done with that madman?" ſaid Wallenſtein to thoſe who called him to account for this ill-timed magnanimity; "would to hea-"ven," added he, "the enemy's generals were "all ſuch as Thurn! at the head of the "Swediſh army he will render us much better "ſervice than in priſon."

The victory at Steinau was followed by the taking of Leignitz, Groſs-Glogau, and even Frankfort on the Oder. Schafgotſch, who remained in Sileſia to complete the ſubjection of that province, blockaded Brieg and threatened Breſlau, but in vain, as that free city was jealous of its privileges, and devoted to the Swedes. Wallenſtein detached Colonels Illo and Goetz to the Warta, in order to penetrate through Pomerania as far as the coaſts of the Baltic; and Landſberg, the key of Pomerania, was actually taken by them. While he made the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Pomerania tremble for their dominions, Wallenſtein with the reſt of his army entered Luſatia, where he took Goerlitz by ſtorm, and compelled Bautzen to ſurrender: but his intention

tion was to terrify the Elector of Saxony not to prosecute the advantages he had obtained. He also, with the sword in his hand, offered to treat with Brandenburg and Saxony, but without success, his repeated contradictions having destroyed all confidence in him. He would now have turned his arms against the unfortunate Saxony, and have pursued his projects by force, if circumstances had not compelled him to abandon that country. The Duke of Weimar's victory on the Danube, which threatened Austria itself with danger, immediately required his presence in Bavaria; and the expulsion of the Swedes and Saxons from Silesia left him no further pretext for disobeying the Emperor's commands, and leaving the Elector of Bavaria at the enemy's mercy. He accordingly advanced against the Upper Palatinate, and his retreat freed Saxony for ever from this formidable enemy.

Wallenstein had delayed saving Bavaria as long as possible, and evaded the Emperor's orders under various pretexts. After repeated entreaties he detached to Count Altringer, who endeavoured to maintain the Lech and the Danube against the Duke of Weimar and Horn, some regiments from Bohemia, but with express orders

orders to act defenſively. Whenever the Emperor or the Elector required aſſiſtance he referred them to Altringer, who, he ſaid, had full powers of acting: but he privately tied this general by the ſevereſt inſtructions, and even threatened him with death if he ſhould exceed his orders. After the Duke of Weimar was advanced before Ratiſbon, and the Emperor as well as the Elector renewed their demands of aid, he pretended to ſend General Gallas with a conſiderable army to the Danube; but this was not executed, and the Swedes took the biſhopric of Eichſtadt, together with Ratiſbon, Straubingen, and Cham. When he could at length oppoſe the orders of the court no longer, he moved ſlowly towards the frontiers of Bavaria, where he recovered Cham from the Swedes. But he no ſooner learned that the Swedes were preparing to make a diverſion, by means of an inroad of the Saxons into Bohemia, than he immediately took advantage of that pretext to march, without giving the leaſt notice, into that kingdom. Every conſideration, he ſaid, muſt be poſtponed to the defence of the hereditary dominions; and thus he remained firm in Bohemia, which he defended as if his own property. The Emperor reiterated his orders to him for proceeding towards the

the Danube, and preventing the Duke of Weimar from occupying a poſition upon the frontiers of Auſtria. He, however, ended the campaign for this year, and again took up his winter-quarters in that exhauſted kingdom.

Such a continued inſolence, ſo unexampled a contempt of the Imperial orders, and ſo viſible a neglect of the common cauſe, joined with ſuch an equivocal behaviour towards the enemy, muſt have at length excited the Emperor's belief of the unfavourable reports which were ſpread throughout Germany. Wallenſtein had for a long time ſucceeded in juſtifying his criminal correſpondence with the enemy, under the colour of moderation, and perſuaded his indulgent monarch that the end of his private interviews was to obtain a peace for Germany. But however ſecret he thought his deſigns, the whole of his conduct juſtified the accuſations with which his enemies perpetually aſſailed the Emperor's ears. In order to obtain certain information concerning this affair, the Emperor had already, at different times, ſent ſpies into Wallenſtein's camp; but as the latter had the precaution to commit nothing to writing, they returned only with conjectures. But at length the miniſters themſelves, who had hitherto de-

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fended him, upon their eftates being equally oppreffed with the reft, joined his enemies; and the Elector of Bavaria threatened, that if he was employed any longer, he would himfelf join the Swedes. The Spanifh ambaffador alfo infifted upon his difmiffal, and threatened, in cafe of refufal, to withdraw the fubfidies of his crown: and Ferdinand at length found himfelf obliged to deprive Wallenftein a fecond time of the command. The Emperor's pofitive orders foon taught Wallenftein that his agreement with the former was broken, and his difmiffal inevitable. One of his inferior generals in Auftria, whom he had forbidden, under pain of death, to obey the court, received the Emperor's immediate command to join the Elector of Bavaria; and Wallenftein himfelf was expreffly ordered to fend fome regiments to join the Cardinal Infant, who was marching with his army from Italy. All thefe meafures convinced him that the defign was formed to difarm him by degrees, and then to precipitate him into ruin.

He muft now haften the execution of a plan in felf-defence which was originally formed for his aggrandizement. He had delayed it too long, either becaufe the favourable conftellations were wanting, or, as he ufed to anfwer

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to the impatience of his friends, “ the favour-
“ able moment was not yet arrived :” but neceſſity no longer gave time to wait for the friendly ſtars. His firſt ſtep was to try the ſentiments of the principal officers, and then experience the attachment of the army, of which he had ſo long been confident. Three colonels, Kinſky, Terſky, and Illo, had long known the ſecret, and the two firſt were allied to him. An equal ambition, an equal hatred to government, and the hopes of an immenſe recompence, cloſely united them with Wallenſtein, who ſtooped to the loweſt means to increaſe the number of his dependants. He had once adviſed Colonel Illo to ſolicit the title of Count in Vienna, and promiſed to ſupport his application. But he at the ſame time wrote privately to the miniſter to refuſe the requeſt, becauſe a number of others who had equal merit might make ſimilar applications. On Illo's return to the camp his firſt queſtion to him was concerning his ſucceſs : and when the latter had informed him of his failure, he broke out into the ſevereſt complaints againſt the court.
“ Our faithful ſervices, then, are thus re-
“ warded !” cried he. “ My recommendations
“ are neglected, and your merit denied ſo
“ ſmall a reward ! Who will devote his ſer-

“ vices

" vices to ſuch an ungrateful maſter any " longer? No; for my part, I am hence- " forward the determined enemy of the Houſe " of Auſtria." Illo coincided with him, and a cloſe connexion was formed between them.

But what was known to thoſe three confidants was long an impenetrable ſecret to the remainder, and the confidence with which Wallenſtein ſpoke of the attachment of his officers was merely founded upon his generoſity to them, and upon their diſcontent with the court. But he muſt convert theſe doubtful ſurmiſes into certainty before he could venture to throw off the maſk, and openly oppoſe the Emperor. Count Piccolomini, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Lutzen by an unexampled intrepidity, was the firſt on whoſe fidelity he tried the experiment. He had attached to himſelf this general by great gifts, and preferred him before all others becauſe born under the ſame conſtellations. He declared to him that, exaſperated by Ferdinand's ingratitude, and alarmed by the near approach of danger, he was determined entirely to abandon the Emperor's cauſe, to join the enemy with the beſt part of the army, and attack

attack the Houſe of Auſtria in all quarters. He had principally depended upon Piccolomini, and promiſed him previouſly the greateſt rewards. When the latter had expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at this ſudden and ſurpriſing offer, and ſpoke of the obſtacles and dangers with which the deſign was attended, Wallenſtein turned his fears into ridicule.

" Such enterpriſes," ſaid he, " were only " difficult at the commencement; the ſtars " were propitious to him, the opportunity was " the beſt which could be wiſhed, and ſome- " thing muſt be truſted to fortune. His re- " ſolution was fixed, and if it could not be " otherwiſe, he would venture upon his ſcheme " at the head of a thouſand horſe." Piccolomini was cautious not to excite Wallenſtein's ſuſpicion by contradiction, and pretended to yield to the weight of his arguments. Such was Wallenſtein's infatuation, that, notwithſtanding the warning of Colonel Terſky, he did not doubt the ſincerity of the man, who loſt not a moment to have this important diſcovery communicated to the Court of Vienna.

In order to take the laſt and moſt important ſtep, he called a meeting of all the com-

manders

manders of the army, in January 1634, at Pilſen, whither he had marched after his retreat from Bavaria. The Emperor's new directions, no longer to take up winter-quarters in the hereditary ſtates, to recover Ratiſbon in the middle of winter, and to take 6000 cavalry from the army in order to reinforce the Cardinal Infant, were points of ſufficient importance for the diſcuſſion of a council of war; and under colour of this pretext Wallenſtein concealed the true purpoſe of the meeting. Sweden and Saxony were even invited to it, in order privately to conclude a treaty with Wallenſtein; and a correſpondence was to be commenced with the diſtant armies. Twenty of the commanders who were cited appeared; but three of the principal ones, Gallas, Colloredo, and Altringer, were abſent. Wallenſtein repeated his citations to them; but expecting their ſpeedy arrival, he in the mean time proceeded to execute his deſigns.

He was now entered upon an undertaking of no ſmall difficulty. To declare a nobility, proved brave and jealous of its honour, capable of the moſt infamous treachery, was making them appear, in the eyes of thoſe who were ever accuſtomed to conſider them as the ſupport

port of monarchy, the judges of honour, and the guardians of the laws, to be now rebels and traitors. It was not lefs difficult to fhake to its foundation a power rendered facred by years, conftitution, and religion; to diffolve the enchantment of the fenfes and the imagination, the formidable guardians of a legal throne; and to annihilate by force that invincible fenfe of duty which every fubject feels towards his native fovereign. But, blinded by the fplendour of a crown, Wallenftein never confidered the abyfs which he was opening for himfelf; and full of reliance on his own ftrength, the common fate of great minds, he imagined that he would be able to furmount every obftacle. Wallenftein could fee nothing but an army partly indifferent and partly exafperated againft the court—an army which was accuftomed to follow him with blind obedience, and to receive with awful refpect his commands, as the decrees of fate. By the exceffive flatteries he received, by the bold calumnies againft court and government which an unlicenfed foldiery indulged itfelf in, and which the freedom of the camp permitted, he thought he had learned the true fentiments of the army; and the boldnefs with which the monarch's meafures were criticifed, guaranteed to him its attachment upon renouncing his allegiance to fo contempt-ible

ible a fovereign. But what he thought fo eafily overcome was his moft formidable obftacle; all his hopes failed before the fenfe which the troops retained of their allegiance. Deceived by the profound refpect in which he was held, he put every dependance upon his perfonal greatnefs, without making a proper difference between himfelf and the dignity of the ftation which he filled. Every thing trembled before him while he exercifed a lawful authority, while obedience to him was duty, and while his confequence was fupported by the majefty of the fovereign. His own greatnefs could raife terror and admiration, but legal greatnefs could alone excite refpect and obedience. And of this decifive advantage he was deprived the moment he unmafked himfelf as a traitor. All the bonds of fidelity were deftroyed between him and his army fo foon as he diffolved the more facred one which bound him to the throne, and his violation of duty was retorted upon him in the influence which he had obtained among his troops.

Illo undertook to learn the fentiments of the commanders, and prepare them for the ftep which was meditating. He began with ftating the new demands of the court to the general and the army; and by the obnoxious turn which

which he gave them it was eafy to inflame the indignation of the whole affembly. After this well-chofen preface he expatiated with much eloquence upon the merits of the army, and of its general, and upon the ingratitude with which the Emperor intended to requite them. "Spanifh influence," he faid, "directed every meafure of the court: Wallenftein alone had hitherto refifted this tyranny, and therefore expofed himfelf to the mortal hatred of the Spaniards. To remove him from the army, or to accomplifh his death, was," added he, "long the end of their defires; and until they fhould effect the one or the other they endeavoured to abridge his power in the field. The command was to be given to the King of Hungary, for no other reafon than that this prince, as the ready inftrument of foreign councils, might be led at pleafure, the better to promote the Spanifh power in Germany. It was merely to weaken the army that 6000 men were required for the Cardinal Infant; it was entirely to deftroy them that they were required in the middle of winter to lay fiege to Ratifbon. Every means of fubfifting the army was rendered difficult, while the Jefuits and the minifters enriched themfelves with "the

" the treafures of the provinces, and fquan- " dered the money which was intended for the " troops. The general, abandoned by the " court, acknowledged his inability to perform " his promife with the army. For all the fer- " vices which he had, during twenty-two " years, rendered the Houfe of Auftria, for all " the pains which he had taken, and for all the " riches which he had expended of his own " property to promote the Imperial fervice, a " fecond difgraceful refignation was now re- " quired of him: but he declared that he " never would confent to that. He would of " his own accord give up the command rather " than be forcibly deprived of it. This," continued the fpeaker, " is what he has commif- " fioned me to fay. Let every one now afk " himfelf if it will be prudent to lofe fuch a " general. Let each confider who will refund " him the fums which he has expended in the " Emperor's fervice, and where he can obtain " the reward of his valour, when he, before " whom it was exerted, is no more."

A general cry that they would not abandon their commander interrupted the fpeaker. Four of the principals were deputed to lay before him the defires of the meeting, and earneftly

to requeſt he would not leave the army. Wallenſtein made an appearance of reſiſtance, and only yielded after a ſecond deputation. This condeſcenſion upon his ſide ſeemed to deſerve a return upon theirs. As he engaged not to quit the ſervice without the knowledge and conſent of the generals, he required from them a written promiſe to be faithful to him, never to permit a ſeparation, and to defend him to the laſt drop of their blood. Whoever refuſed to ſign this engagement was to be conſidered as a traitor, and treated by the remainder as a common enemy. The expreſs condition which was added, "*So long as Wallenſtein ſhall continue to uſe the army for the Emperor's ſervice,*" ſeemed to exclude every miſtake, and none of the generals heſitated to grant a requeſt ſo apparently innocent and reaſonable.

This paper was publicly read before an entertainment which Field-marſhal Illo had ordered for the purpoſe; and it was intended to be ſigned on riſing from table. The hoſt did his utmoſt to intoxicate his gueſts; and it was not until he had effected his purpoſe that he produced the paper for ſignature. Moſt of them wrote their names, without knowing what they

they ſigned; only a few, more curious than the reſt, threw their eyes over it a ſecond time, and to their aſtoniſhment diſcovered that the clauſe, "*So long as Wallenſtein ſhall uſe the army for* "*the Emperor's ſervice,*" was omitted. Illo had artfully ſubſtituted a ſecond copy for the firſt, and left out the above clauſe. The deceit was open, and many now refuſed to ſign their names. Piccolomini, who ſaw through the whole cheat, and who only aſſiſted at this meeting to inform the court of its proceedings, forgot himſelf ſo much in his cups as to drink the Emperor's health. But Count Terſky now roſe, and declared all were perjured villains who ſhould recede from their promiſe. His threats, and the idea of the inevitable danger to which thoſe who reſiſted any longer ſhould be expoſed, the example of the majority, and Illo's oratory, at length overcame every ſcruple, and the paper was ſigned without exception.

Wallenſtein had now effected his purpoſe, but the unexpected reſiſtance of the generals at once arouſed him from the favourite preſumption in which he had indulged himſelf; beſides this, moſt of the names were ſo illegibly ſcrawled, that diſhoneſt intentions were manifeſt. But inſtead of taking this ſerious warning

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into consideration, his pride broke out in loud complaints and reproaches; he assembled the generals the next morning, and renewed the business of the foregoing day; after he had exhausted himself in the severest reproaches against the court, he remarked upon their resistance, and declared that this circumstance would induce him to retract his promise. The generals silently withdrew, and after a short consultation in the antechamber, returned to excuse themselves for their late behaviour, and offered to sign the paper anew.

Nothing now remained but to obtain a similar assurance from the absent generals, or, on their refusal, to seize their persons. Wallenstein renewed his invitation, and pressed them to hasten their arrival, but on their journey they learned the business of Pilsen, which stopped them. Altringer, under the pretext of sickness, remained in the strong castle of Frauenberg; Gallas made his appearance, but it was only the better, as an eye-witness, to inform the Emperor of the danger which threatened him; the intelligence which he and Piccolomini gave, changed the suspicions of the court into the most alarming certainty; news which arrived from other quarters left no room to

 doubt,

doubt, and the rapid change of commanders in Silesia and Austria appeared to be the prelude to some great design. So immediate a danger demanded speedy measures; however, it was necessary to proceed with the regular forms. Orders were accordingly issued to the principal generals, on whose fidelity reliance might be placed, to seize Wallenstein and his associates Illo and Terzky, and keep them safe in confinement: but if this could not be done in a quiet manner, the public danger required that they should be taken dead or alive. At the same time General Gallas received a commission, in which the Emperor's orders were made known to the colonels and officers; the whole army was absolved from its obedience to the traitor, and a new generalissimo was appointed in the person of Gallas. In order to bring back the deluded to their duty, and not to plunge the guilty into despair, a general amnesty was granted for all which had been transacted at Pilsen against the majesty of the Emperor.

General Gallas was not pleased with the honour which was done him. He was at Pilsen, under the person whose destiny he was to decide; in the power of an enemy who had an

an hundred eyes to watch and to diſcover his intentions; if Wallenſtein once learnt in whoſe hands he was, nothing could ſave him from the effects of the former's rage and deſpair. If it was prudent to conceal the Emperor's orders, it was much more difficult to execute them; the ſentiments of the generals were uncertain, and it was at leaſt to be ſuſpected, that they would be ready, after the ſtep they had taken, to truſt to the Emperor's promiſes, and at once to relinquiſh the brilliant expectations they had formed from Wallenſtein. It was alſo a dangerous enterpriſe to lay hands upon the perſon of a man who was in a manner conſidered ſacred, who had long exerciſed ſupreme authority, who was become the object of the deepeſt veneration, and was armed with every attribute of outward majeſty and interior greatneſs; whoſe very aſpect inſpired terror, and whoſe wink decided life and death. To ſeize ſuch a man in the midſt of his guards, and in a city entirely devoted to him, as a criminal, and to convert the object of long veneration at once into that of compaſſion or reproach, was a commiſſion ſufficient to deter the boldeſt: ſo deep was the fear and the reſpect which the ſoldiers entertained of him, that even the atro-

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cious crime of high treaſon could not eradicate theſe ſentiments.

Gallas perceived the impoſſibility of executing his commiſſion under the eyes of Wallenſtein, and was deſirous, before he proceeded further, to conſult Altringer. As the delay of the latter began to excite ſuſpicion, Gallas offered to repair to Frauenberg, and as a relation prevail upon him to return; Wallenſtein received this mark of his zeal with ſuch ſatiſfaction, that he lent him his own equipage to perform the journey. Gallas rejoiced that his ſtratagem ſucceeded, immediately left Pilſen, while Piccolomini remained to watch Wallenſtein's motions: but he did not fail, wherever he went, to uſe the Emperor's commiſſion, and the declaration of the troops was more favourable than he expected. Inſtead of bringing back his friend, he ſent him to Vienna to inform the Emperor of his danger, and went himſelf to Upper Auſtria, which was threatened by the approach of the Duke of Weimar: in Bohemia Imperial garriſons were thrown into the towns of Budweiſs and Tabor, and every meaſure was taken effectually to oppoſe the deſigns of the traitor.

As

As Gallas intended no more to return, Piccolomini determined to put Wallenftein's credulity once more to the teft; he demanded permiffion to bring back Gallas, and Wallenftein fuffered himfelf a fecond time to be deceived. This inconceivable blindnefs is only to be confidered as the offspring of pride, which never retracted the opinion it had formed of a perfon, and could not be brought to acknowledge its error; he even fent Piccolomini in his own coach to Lintz, where the latter immediately followed the example of Gallas, and went one ftep further. He had promifed Wallenftein to return: this, however, he did at the head of an army, with the intention of falling upon the former at Pilfen: another army, under General Snys, haftened to Prague, to fecure that capital, and defend it againft an attack of the rebels. At the fame time Gallas announced himfelf as commander in chief to the different Imperial armies in Germany, and iffued orders accordingly; bills were pofted up in all the Imperial camps, raifing the hue and cry againft Wallenftein and four of his affociates, and releafing the troops from their obedience to him.

The

The example given at Lintz was universally followed; the traitor was generally detested, and forsaken by all the armies. At length, as Piccolomini no longer returned, Wallenstein was undeceived, and he recovered in consternation from his dream; yet he still continued to believe in the predictions of astrology and the fidelity of the army. Immediately after Piccolomini's defection, he gave out an order that no command should in future be obeyed which did not proceed from either himself, Terzky, or Illo; he hastily prepared to advance towards Prague, where he intended to throw off the mask, and openly declare against the Emperor. All the troops were to have assembled before Prague, and instantly to have proceeded from thence into Austria; the Duke of Weimar, who was led into the conspiracy, was to have supported Wallenstein's operations with Swedish troops, and make a diversion upon the Danube; Terzky already hastened towards Prague, and it was the want of horses alone which prevented Wallenstein from following him with the faithful regiments. But while with the most excessive hope he awaited for intelligence from Prague, he received information of the loss of that city, the defection of his generals, the desertion of his troops, the

discovery

discovery of his conspiracy, and the sudden march of Piccolomini, who vowed him destruction; all his designs were defeated on a sudden, and his prospects annihilated; he now saw himself alone, forsaken by all to whom he had been a benefactor, and betrayed by those on whom he placed dependance. But it is in such situations that great characters are proved. Though deceived in all his expectations, he did not abandon one of his designs; he despaired of nothing so long as he himself lived. The period was at length arrived when he wanted that support for which he had so often applied to the Swedes and Saxons, and when every doubt disappeared as to the sincerity of his intentions. After Oxenstern and Arnheim perceived the truth of his promised intentions and his necessity, they hesitated no longer to embrace the favourable opportunity, and offer him their protection. It was resolved to detach the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg with 4000 men from the Saxons, and the Palatine of Birkenfeld with 6000 Swedes, all chosen troops, to his assistance. Wallenstein left Pilsen with Terzky's regiment, and the few who either were or pretended to remain faithful to him, and hastened to Egra in order to be near the Upper Palatinate, and facilitate his junction with

with the Duke of Weimar. He was not yet acquainted with the decree which proclaimed him an enemy and a traitor; he first received this thunder-stroke at Egra. He still confided in an army which General Schafgotsch prepared for him in Silesia, and flattered himself with hopes that many of those who had forsaken him would return upon the first dawnings of success; even during his flight to Egra, so little humility was he taught by sad experience, that he was still occupied by the colossal scheme of deposing the Emperor. It was in these circumstances that one of his attendants asked him leave to offer advice: "Under the Emperor," said he, "your Grace is a great and much "esteemed lord; joined with the enemy, you "are at best but a precarious king. It is not "the part of prudence to exchange certainty "for uncertainty. The enemy will make them-"selves masters of your person when the oppor-"tunity offers. You will be ever an object of "their suspicions, lest you should act one day "as the Emperor now does: on that account "return to your allegiance while it is yet "time."—"And what is the remedy?" said Wallenstein. "You have," replied the other, "40,000 men in arms" (meaning ducats, stamped

ſtamped with the figure of a man in armour):
„ take them with you, and go ſtraight to the
" Imperial court; there declare that the ſteps
" which you have hitherto taken were merely
" to put the fidelity of the Emperor's ſubjects
" to the teſt, and diſtinguiſh the loyal from
" the ſuſpicious; and ſince moſt ſhowed a
" diſpoſition to rebel, ſay you are come to
" warn his Imperial Majeſty againſt theſe dan-
" gerous men. By this you will make your
" enemies appear as traitors, your ducats will
" make you a welcome gueſt at the Imperial
" court, and you will be reinſtated in your
" former dignity."—" The advice is good,"
anſwered Wallenſtein after a pauſe, " but the
" d—l truſt to it."

While Wallenſtein was actively negotiating with the enemy at Egra, conſulting the ſtars and indulging new hopes, the poniard was drawn almoſt before his eyes which put a period to his exiſtence. The Imperial proclamation which ſet a price upon his head, had not failed in its effect, and fate ordained that one act of ingratitude ſhould be puniſhed by another. Among his officers, Wallenſtein had in particular diſtinguiſhed one Leſlie, an Iriſhman, and made his for-

tune.

tune. This man, whether from a ſenſe of duty or a meaner impulſe, felt himſelf called on to execute the ſentence againſt Wallenſtein, and to merit the bloody reward. He was no ſooner arrived at Egra, in Wallenſtein's ſuite, than he diſcloſed to the governor, Colonel Butler, and to Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, two Proteſtant Scotchmen *, all the dangerous deſigns which that infatuated man had the imprudence to impart on his way thither. Leſlie here found two men fit for his deſign; they had the alternative of duty or treaſon, of adhering to their lawful ſovereign, or to a fugitive abandoned rebel; and although the latter was an univerſal benefactor, the choice could not remain doubtful for an inſtant; they were ſolemnly bound in their allegiance to the Emperor, and this required them to take immediate meaſures againſt the common enemy. But not to offend juſtice, it was determined to deliver up her victim alive, and the conſpirators parted with the bold project of taking the General priſoner. This dark plot was covered

* Here the author is miſtaken. Butler was an Iriſhman and a Papiſt; he died a general in the Emperor's ſervice. Though a murderer, he was a man of great piety, and founded at Prague a convent of Iriſh Franciſcans, which ſtill exiſts. *Tranſ.*

with

with the deepeſt ſecrecy; and Wallenſtein, inſtead of entertaining the leaſt ſurmiſe of his impending deſtruction, rather flattered himſelf that he poſſeſſed in the garriſon of Egra his braveſt and moſt faithful adherents.

At this time were brought him the Imperial proclamations which contained his ſentence, and were made public in all the camps. He now perceived the greatneſs of the danger with which he was ſurrounded, the impoſſibility of a retreat, his dreadful ſituation, and the abſolute neceſſity of delivering himſelf up to the enemy. He imparted to Leſlie the chagrin of his afflicted ſoul, and the violent effect of the moment drew from him the laſt remaining ſecret. He diſcloſed to this officer his intention of delivering up Egra and Elnbogen, the paſſes of the kingdom, to the Palatine of Birkenfeld; and at the ſame time informed him of the Duke of Weimar's approach, of which he had advice the ſame night by a meſſenger. This diſcovery, which Leſlie immediately communicated to the other conſpirators, altered their plan; the preſſing danger no longer permitted dilatory meaſures; Egra might every moment fall into the enemy's hands, and a ſudden revolution releaſe their priſoner. To

prevent this, they determined to affaffinate him and his affociates the next night.

In order to execute this defign with the lefs noife, it was determined that the act fhould be perpetrated at an entertainment which Colonel Butler gave at the caftle of Egra. All the guefts made their appearance except Wallenftein, who, being too much agitated to enjoy company, fent an apology; with regard to him, therefore, the plan muft be changed; but it was refolved to execute the defign upon the others. Colonels Illo, Terzky, and William Kinfky, came in a carelefs confidence, and with them Captain Neuman, an officer of talents, whofe advice Terzky demanded in every intricate affair. Previous to their arrival the moft confidential foldiers of the garrifon were entrufted with the plot and introduced into the caftle; all avenues from it were guarded, and fix of Butler's dragoons concealed in an apartment near the dining-room, who, on a concerted fignal, were to rufh out and kill the traitors. Without imagining the danger which hung over them, the unfufpecting guefts abandoned themfelves to the pleafures of the table, and Wallenftein's health was drank in full bumpers, not as an Imperial

 general,

general, but a ſovereign prince. Wine rendered them more communicative, and Illo boaſted with great exultation, that in three days an army would arrive, ſuch as Wallenſtein had never before commanded. "Yes," added Neuman, "and then he hopes to waſh his hands "in Auſtrian blood." At theſe words the deſſert was taken away, and Leſlie gave the concerted ſignal to raiſe the drawbridges, while he took the keys of the doors; the dining-room was inſtantly filled with armed men, who amid the cry of "*Long live Ferdinand!*" placed themſelves behind the chairs of the marked victims. The four immediately ſprung from the table with conſternation; Kinſky and Terzky were inſtantly killed before they could reſiſt, Neuman found an opportunity during the confuſion to eſcape into the yard, where he was recogniſed, and inſtantly cut down by the guards; Illo alone had preſence of mind to defend himſelf. He placed his back to a window, from whence he uttered the bittereſt reproaches againſt Gordon for his treachery, and challenged him to fight him like a gentleman: after a gallant reſiſtance, during which he killed two of his enemies, he fell to the ground overpowered by numbers, and pierced with ten wounds. Immediately after the action was

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The aſtrologer had taken his leave, and Wallenſtein was in bed when Devereux with ſix halberdiers came to his houſe, and was immediately admitted by the guard, who were accuſtomed to ſee him go to the general at all hours. A page who met him on the ſtairs, and wiſhed to raiſe the alarm, was run through the body with a pike; in the antechamber the aſſaſſins met a ſervant who had juſt come out of his maſter's apartment, and taken with him the key; by putting his finger to his mouth, the affrighted ſlave admoniſhed them to make no noiſe, as the general was aſleep. "*Friend*," ſaid Devereux, "*it is time to awake him*;" with theſe words he ran againſt the door, and burſt it open.

Wallenſtein was arouſed from his firſt ſleep by the noiſe of a muſket which went off, and ſprung to the window to call the guard; he at the ſame time heard the lamentations of the Counteſſes Terzky and Kinſky, who had juſt learned the violent death of their huſbands. Before he had time for reflection, Devereux with his aſſaſſins was in the apartment; he was in his ſhirt, and leaning on a table near the window. "Art thou the villain," cried Devereux, "who intends to deliver up the Empe-

"ror's

"ror's troops to the enemy, and to dethrone "his Majeſty? Now thou muſt die." He pauſed a few moments, as if expecting an anſwer; but rage and aſtoniſhment ſilenced Wallenſtein: with arms extended he received in his breaſt the aſſaſſins' halberts, and fell weltering in his blood without a groan.

The next day an expreſs arrived from the Duke of Lauenburg, announcing his approach: the meſſenger was ſecured, and a lackey was ſent in Wallenſtein's livery to decoy the Duke into Egra: the ſtratagem ſucceeded, and Francis Albert delivered himſelf up to the enemy. The Duke of Weimar, who was on his march to Egra, was near ſharing the ſame fate; he very fortunately learned Wallenſtein's death in ſufficient time to ſave himſelf by a retreat.

Ferdinand ſhed a tear over the fate of his general, and ordered 3000 maſſes to be ſaid for his ſoul in Vienna; but did not at the ſame time forget to decorate his aſſaſſins with gold chains, chamberlains' keys, dignities and eſtates.

Thus did Wallenſtein, at the age of fifty years, terminate his active and extraordinary life.

life. Led away by ambition and the love of fame, he was ſtill, with all his failings, an admirable and inimitable character, had he contained himſelf within bounds. The virtues of the ruler and the hero, prudence, juſtice, firmneſs, and courage, are the ſtriking features of his character; but he wanted the ſofter virtues of humanity, which adorn the hero, and procure the ruler the eſteem of mankind. Terror was the taliſman with which he worked: exceſſive in his puniſhments as well as in his rewards, he knew how to keep the zeal of his followers continually expanded, and no general of ancient or modern times could boaſt of being obeyed with equal alacrity: obedience was of more real ſervice to him than the ſoldier's courage, becauſe he acted through its means. He kept his troops in practice by capricious orders, and rewarded a readineſs to obey him, even in ſmall matters, with profuſion; he at one time iſſued an order that none but red ſaſhes ſhould be worn in the army. A captain of horſe no ſooner heard the order than he trampled his gold embroidered ſaſh under foot; Wallenſtein, on being informed of this circumſtance, promoted him to the rank of colonel upon the ſpot. With all this appearance of caprice, he did not loſe ſight of the main object. The robberies of the troops in their friends' country had occaſioned

fioned the fevereft orders againft ftragglers; and thofe who were detected in a theft were threatened to be punifhed with the halter. It happened that Wallenftein himfelf met a foldier, whom he commanded, without trial, to be taken up as a tranfgreffor, and with his ufual ftern order of "*Hang the fellow,*" condemned him to the gallows; the foldier pleaded innocence, but the decifive fentence was pronounced. "Hang, then, innocent," cried Wallenftein; "the guilty will tremble "with more certainty." Preparations were already making to execute the fentence, when the foldier, who gave himfelf up for loft, formed the defperate refolution of not dying without revenge. He furioufly fell upon his judge, but was foon difarmed by numbers before he could execute his defign. "Now let "him go," cried Wallenftein; "he will ex-"cite fufficient terror."

His munificence was fupported by an immenfe income, which was valued at three millions * annually, without reckoning the immoderate fums which he raifed by contributions. His freedom of thinking and clearnefs of un-

* Florins, no doubt. *Tranf.*

derſtanding placed him above the religious prejudices of his age, and the Jeſuits could never forgive him for having ſeen through their ſyſtem, and beheld nothing in the Pope but a Roman biſhop.

But as, ſince Samuel the prophet's days, no one came to a fortunate end who quarrelled with the church, Wallenſtein alſo augmented its victims. Through monkiſh intrigues he loſt at Ratiſbon the command of the army, and at Egra his life; by the ſame acts he perhaps loſt what is more, his honeſt reputation and his fame with poſterity. For it muſt be candidly acknowledged that we have the hiſtory of this extraordinary man delivered to us by no means through impartial hands; and that Wallenſtein's treaſon, and his deſigns upon the crown of Bohemia, reſt leſs upon any poſitive proof than upon appearances of probability. We have not yet diſcovered the documents which might diſplay the ſecret ſprings of his conduct with hiſtoric truth; and among all the actions aſcribed to him openly, there is not one which could not proceed from an innocent ſource. Many of his moſt obnoxious meaſures ſhowed an inclination for peace; others were to be excuſed by his juſt ſuſpicion of the Em-

peror,

peror, and the blameleſs deſire of maintaining his authority. It is true that his conduct towards the Elector of Bavaria bears the appearance of an ignoble revenge and implacable ſpirit; but none of his actions clearly convince us of his treaſon. When neceſſity and deſpair at length drove him to merit the ſentence which had fallen upon him when innocent, ſuch a ſentence cannot altogether be juſtified; it was his ruin that cauſed his rebellion, not rebellion his ruin. Unfortunate while living, he made a victorious party his enemy; equally ſo at his death, ſince the ſame party ſurvived him, and wrote his hiſtory.

Guſtavus Adolphus and Wallenſtein, the two great heroes of the warlike drama, have now diſappeared from the ſcene, and with them we loſe that unity of action which has hitherto diſtinguiſhed the view of affairs. Henceforward a variety of characters attract notice, and the remainder of the war, though more fertile in battles and negotiations, in ſtateſmen and heroes, is leſs amuſing and intereſting for my readers.

CON-

CONTINUATION.

Wallenstein's death rendered a new generaliſſimo neceſſary, and the Emperor at length was prevailed upon by the Court of Spain to promote his ſon, Ferdinand King of Hungary, to that rank. Under him General Gallas directed, however, the entire command. A conſiderable force ſoon aſſembled under Ferdinand's colours, the Duke of Lorrain led reinforcements in perſon, and the Cardinal Infant joined with 10,000 men from Italy. In order to drive the enemy from the Danube, the new general undertook, what his predeceſſor failed in, the ſiege of Ratiſbon. It was in vain that the Duke of Weimar penetrated into the interior of Bavaria, with a view to draw the enemy's attention from that city: Ferdinand perſevered in the ſiege, and Ratiſbon, after the moſt vigorous reſiſtance, ſurrendered. Donauwerth ſoon after ſhared the ſame fate, and Nordlingen in Suabia was at length beſieged. The loſs of ſo many Imperial cities, whoſe alliance had hitherto been ſo advantageous to the Swedes, could not be regarded with indifference. It would have expoſed them to great diſgrace if

if they abandoned their allies to an implacable enemy. From these considerations the Swedish army, under General Horn and the Duke of Weimar, advanced towards Nordlingen, determined to relieve it, even at the expense of a battle.

This undertaking was highly imprudent, as the enemy was manifestly superior in number to the Swedes, and foresight required the latter to avoid a battle, the more as the force of the Imperialists was soon to divide itself, and the Italian troops were destined for the Netherlands. It was possible to occupy a position which might cover Nordlingen, and cut off the enemy's supplies. All these considerations were represented by Gustavus Horn in the Swedish council of war; but his remonstrances were disregarded by men who, intoxicated by a long series of successes, saw nothing in the suggestions of prudence but the effects of timidity. Overcome by the superior influence of the Duke of Weimar, Horn was obliged, against his consent, to risk a contest of which he already foresaw the unfavourable issue.

The fate of the battle depended upon the possession of a height which commanded the Imperial

Imperial camp. An attempt to occupy it during the night failed, as the tedious tranſport of the artillery through woods and hollow ways neceſſarily delayed the troops on their march. When the Swedes arrived there about midnight they found the hill already occupied and ſtrongly intrenched by the Imperialiſts. Day-break was awaited in order to ſtorm it. The impetuous valour of the Swedes fortunately ſurmounted the intrenchments, formed in a creſcent; but having entered on both ſides, they met and fell into confuſion. At this unfortunate inſtant a barrel of powder blew up, and cauſed great deſtruction among the Swedes. The Imperial cavalry charged them, and the confuſion became general; no efforts of their general could prevail upon the fugitives to renew the attack.

He now endeavoured to maintain this important poſt, by leading up freſh troops; but ſome Spaniſh regiments had already occupied it, and every attempt to gain it was repulſed by the heroic intrepidity of theſe troops *. One of the

* It is remarkable, that the Spaniſh infantry, now ſo contemptible, were then the firſt in the world. All their glory, however, terminated a few years after this by the ever-memorable

the Duke of Weimar's regiments ſeven times renewed the attack, and was as often repulſed. The diſadvantage of not occupying this poſt was ſoon perceived. The fire of the enemy's cannon committed ſuch ſlaughter in the next wing of the Swedes, that Horn, who commanded, was compelled to retire. Inſtead of covering the retreat of his colleague, the Duke of Weimar was cloſely purſued into the plain, where his routed cavalry ſpread confuſion among Horn's troops, and rendered the defeat general. Almoſt the entire infantry was either cut to pieces or taken priſoners; above 12,000 men remained dead upon the field of battle; eighty cannon, 4000 waggons, and 300 ſtandards and colours, fell into the hands of the Imperialiſts. Horn and three other generals were taken priſoners. The Duke of Weimar with difficulty ſaved ſome feeble remains of the army, who joined him in Frankfort.

The defeat at Nordlingen coſt Oxenſtern

morable victory which the Duke of Enguien gained over them, at the age of twenty-two, at Rocroi—a blow from which Spain never afterwards recovered. The Dutch ſubſequently became famous for a diſcipline which has ſince been carried to the laſt perfection by the German infantry. *Tranſ.*

the

the ſecond ſleepleſs night in Germany *. The conſequences of this diſaſter were terrible. The Swedes at once loſt by it their ſuperiority in the field, and with it the allies to whom they had hitherto been indebted for their ſucceſſes. A dangerous diviſion threatened the Proteſtant confederacy with ruin. Conſternation ſeized the whole party, and the Catholics aroſe in exulting triumph from their fall. Suabia and the neighbouring circles firſt felt the conſequences of the defeat at Nordlingen, and Wirtemberg in particular was overrun by the victorious army. All the members of the confederacy of Hailbron trembled before the Emperor's indignation, numbers fled to Straſburg, and the helpleſs free cities awaited their fate with fear and aſtoniſhment. Somewhat greater moderation on the part of the conquerors would have reduced the weaker ſtates under the Emperor's ſubjection. But the ſeverity which was practiſed even againſt thoſe who voluntarily ſurrendered, made the remainder deſperate, and encouraged them to the moſt vigorous reſiſtance.

Recourſe was had upon this occaſion to Oxenſtern for his counſel and aſſiſtance; for

* See the Appendix.

both

both of which he called upon the ſtates of Germany. Armies were wanting; money was alſo required to raiſe new troops, and pay off the old arrears. Oxenſtern applied to the Elector of Saxony, who ſhamefully abandoned him, and concluded a treaty of peace with the Emperor at Pirna. He alſo made application for aſſiſtance to the ſtates of Lower Saxony; but the latter, long tired of the Swediſh demands, only provided for their own ſafety; and George Duke of Lunenburg, inſtead of haſtening to the aſſiſtance of Upper Germany, laid ſiege to Minden, with the intention of keeping it for himſelf. Abandoned by his German allies, the Chancellor applied to foreign powers for aſſiſtance. England, Holland, and Venice, were ſolicited for money and troops; and, driven to the laſt neceſſity, he at length reſolved to throw himſelf under the protection of France; a meaſure which he embraced with reluctance.

The period was at length arrived which Richelieu long waited for with impatience. It was only the impoſſibility of ſaving themſelves by any other means, that could lead the Proteſtant ſtates of Germany to ſecond the claims of France on Alſace. Such a neceſſity now preſented

presented itself: the assistance of that power was absolutely requisite, and France was amply paid for the active part which it from this period took in the war. It opened its political career with splendour and reputation; Oxenstern, whom it cost but little to bestow the rights and possessions of the Empire, had already ceded Philipsburg and other places which were required by Richelieu. The Upper German Protestants now sent a special embassy to him to take Alsace, the fortress of Brisach, which was still in the enemy's possession, and all the fortified places of the Upper Rhine which commanded the entrance into Germany, under his protection. France was already in possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which it defended for centuries against their lawful proprietors. Treves was in its power; Lorrain was in a manner conquered, as it might every moment be overrun by an army, and could not, by its native strength, withstand the force of its powerful neighbour. France now enjoyed the prospect of adding Alsace to its numerous possessions, and as it, at the same time, entered into a treaty with the Dutch for the division of the Spanish Netherlands, it could expect to make the Rhine its natural barrier against the Emperor. So shamefully

fully were the poſſeſſions of Germany ſold by its ſtates to that faithleſs avaricious power, which, under the maſk of diſintereſted friendſhip, only laboured for aggrandizement; and while it claimed the reſpectable title of a protectreſs, was only employed in promoting its own views, amid the general confuſion.

In return for theſe important ceſſions, France engaged to make a diverſion in favour of the Swedes, by commencing hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards; and, ſhould it come to an open breach with the Emperor, to maintain an army of 12,000 men upon the oppoſite ſide of the Rhine, which was to act, in conjunction with the Swedes, againſt Auſtria. The deſired pretext for a war was given by the Spaniards themſelves. They made an inroad from the Netherlands into Treves, cut in pieces the French garriſon which lay in that city, and took priſoner, in violation of the laws of nations, the Elector, who had put himſelf under the protection of France, and brought him to Flanders. When the Cardinal Infant, as viceroy of the Spaniſh Netherlands, refuſed ſatisfaction for thoſe injuries, and delayed to reſtore the prince, whom he had taken, to his liberty, Richelieu, after the old cuſtom, formally declared war againſt him by a herald

a herald whom he ſent to Bruſſels, and immediately commenced it by three different armies in Italy and Flanders. The French miniſter was not ſo ready to begin againſt the Emperor a war which promiſed few advantages, and was accompanied with great difficulties. Neverthelefs a fourth army was detached over the Rhine into Germany, under the Cardinal La Valette, to act in conjunction with the Duke of Weimar, without a previous declaration of war againſt the Emperor.

Ferdinand's reconciliation with the Elector of Saxony was a more ſevere blow to the Swedes than their defeat at Nordlingen. After a fruitleſs attempt to prevent it, this negotiation was concluded during the winter 1634, at Pirna, and ended the following May in a formal peace. The Elector of Saxony could never conceal his averſion to that foreign power which gave laws to Germany, and his hatred was increaſed by every new demand of Oxenſtern. This averſion to Sweden was increaſed by the efforts of the Court of Spain, who laboured to effect a treaty between Saxony and the Emperor. Wearied by the calamities of a long and deſtructive war, which made Saxony above all other countries its theatre, excited by the

the miseries which both friends and enemies heaped upon his subjects, and seduced by the deceitful offers of Austria, the Elector at last abandoned the common cause; and less occupied by Germany's liberty than his own safety, only consulted the latter.

In fact, misery had risen in Germany to such a pitch, that all voices exclaimed for a peace, even the most disadvantageous. In plains which had formerly possessed plenty and happiness, and over which thousands of people were spread, nothing but devastation was now to be seen; the fields, abandoned by the industrious husbandman, lay waste and uncultivated, and where a young crop or a smiling harvest appeared, a march of soldiers destroyed the fruits of a twelvemonth's labour. Burned castles and villages in ashes lay upon all sides the melancholy objects of contemplation, while their plundered inhabitants repaired to join an army of incendiaries, and retaliate upon their fellow-citizens that fate to which they themselves had been the first victims. In order to avoid oppression, recourse was had to violence. The towns groaned under the licentiousness of undisciplined garrisons, who squandered the property of the inhabitants, and exercised the

 utmost

utmoſt diſorders. While the march of an army laid waſte an entire country, or plundered it by winter-quarters or contributions, the induſtry of a whole year was effaced by the ravages of a month. The fate of ſuch as had a garriſon within their walls, or in their neighbourhood, was the moſt unhappy, becauſe the victors trod in the footſteps of the vanquiſhed, and no greater indulgence was to be expected from friends than from enemies. All theſe different calamities brought want and hunger to their utmoſt pitch, and the miſeries of the latter years were increaſed by a ſterility *. The crowding of people in camps and quarters, want upon one ſide, and exceſs on the other, occaſioned contagious diſtempers, which were more fatal than the ſword. All the bonds of ſocial life were diſſolved in this univerſal confuſion; the reſpect for order, the fear of the laws, the purity of morals and of religion, were

* In the year 1634, when the negotiations were opened at Pirna, proviſions became ſo dear, that an egg was ſold for ſix creitzers (three halfpence Engliſh), a much greater ſum in thoſe days than at preſent, in Germany; a pound of meat, ten and twenty creitzers; a buſhel of oats, ſixteen rix-dollars; and one of barley, thirty. A fowl coſt a florin, and a Nuremberg caſk of wine twenty rix-dollars (3*l.* 5*s.*). *Author.*

loſt

loſt under the weight of an iron ſceptre. Anarchy and impunity diſdained every law, and men became ferocious according as their country was waſted. No ſituation was longer reſpected, no property was ſecured from plunder. The ſoldier, in a word, reigned, and that moſt brutal of deſpots often made his ſuperiors experience his own power. The general was the moſt important perſonage, and the legal proprietor of a country was often obliged to fly to his caſtles for ſafety. The whole of Germany ſwarmed with theſe petty tyrants, and the country ſuffered equally from friends and enemies. All thoſe wounds were the more ſevere, on reflecting that it was foreign powers who ſacrificed the country to their ambition, and encouraged the miſeries of the war only to purſue their own advantages. Germany bled in order to promote the intereſts of Sweden; and Richelieu's alliance was indiſpenſable.

But it was not intereſted voices alone who were againſt a peace: while both Swedes and Germans declared for a continuance of the war, they were ſeconded by a ſound policy. An advantageous peace with the Emperor was not to be expected after the defeat at Nordlin-

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gen; and it was too great a ſacrifice to have gained nothing, or rather loſt every thing, after a ſeventeen years conteſt. So much blood was unneceſſarily ſhed without attaining its object. It was more reaſonable to proſecute the war, and ſupport the burden for ſome period longer, than to ſurrender the advantages which had been obtained. A fortunate peace was to be expected when the Swedes and German Proteſtants unanimouſly purſued their intereſts as well in the cabinet as in the field. It was their diviſion which alone rendered the enemy formidable: this greateſt of all evils was occaſioned by the Elector of Saxony, when he concluded a ſeparate peace.

He had already commenced a negotiation with the Emperor previous to the defeat at Nordlingen, an event which accelerated the treaty. All confidence in the Swedes was loſt, and it was doubted whether they ſhould ever recover their late blow. No further exploits were expected from the diviſion of their commanders, the inſubordination of the armies, and the decay of Sweden. It was upon this account thought the more expedient to profit by the Emperor's magnanimity, who withdrew his pretenſions after the victory which he had obtained

obtained at Nordlingen. Oxenſtern, who aſſembled the ſtates at Frankfort, made demands; the Emperor, on the contrary, yielded; ſo that men did not long heſitate which party to embrace.

But, to ſave appearances, an anxiety for the common cauſe was affected. All the ſtates of Germany, and even the Swedes, were publicly invited to partake in this peace, although it only was concluded between the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony, who aſſumed the power of giving law to Germany. The grievances of the Proteſtant ſtates were here debated, their rights and privileges decided before this arbitrary tribunal, and the fate of their religion reſolved upon without conſulting the members who were ſo much intereſted in it. A formal peace was determined upon, and to enforce it by an army of execution as a regular decree of the Empire. Whoever oppoſed this meaſure was to be conſidered as a public enemy. The treaty of Prague was thus, even in form, a work of caprice, neither was it leſs ſo in its contents.

The edict of reſtitution had chiefly cauſed the breach between the Emperor and the Elector

tor of Saxony, and it was therefore taken first into consideration at their reconciliation; without formally abolishing it, the treaty of Prague determined that all the chapters which the Protestants had seized after the negotiation at Passau, should remain during forty years in the same condition in which they were when the edict of restitution was issued. Before this term was elapsed, a committee of both religions was to be appointed, who should regularly proceed to decide the common affairs; and if they did not conclude a treaty, both parties were to remain possessed of the rights which they maintained previous to the edict. It was thus that this treaty, far from concluding a formal peace, only covered the embers of a war.

The bishopric of Magdeburg was ceded to Prince Augustus of Saxony, and Halberstadt to the Archduke Leopold William: four estates were taken from the territory of Magdeburg and given to Saxony: the Administrator of Magdeburg, Christian William of Brandenburg, was indemnified in another manner. The Dukes of Mecklenburg were to recover, by joining in the peace, their territories which they had already been fortunately possessed of by

by means of Guſtavus Adolphus. Donauwerth recovered its liberty. The claims of the Palatine heirs, however important for the Proteſtant cauſe, remained unnoticed from the animoſity which ſubſiſted between a Lutheran and a Calviniſt party. All conqueſts were mutually reſtored, and Sweden and France were forcibly to yield the poſſeſſions which they had appropriated to themſelves. It was determined that the contracting parties ſhould aſſemble an army in order to enforce this treaty.

As the treaty of Prague was deſtined for a general law of the Empire, the points which did not more immediately belong to the latter, were contained in a ſeparate article. In this, Luſatia was ceded to the Elector of Saxony as a fief of Bohemia, and the toleration of religion in that country and Sileſia was particularly provided for.

All the Proteſtant ſtates were invited to partake in the treaty, and were upon that condition granted the amneſty. The princes of Wirtemberg and Baden, whoſe territories were in the enemy's poſſeſſion, and who, though the immediate vaſſals of Auſtria, were directed by Oxenſtern, were alone excluded; this was not done

done that the war might be profecuted againft them, but rather to fell a peace the dearer. It was intended to keep their dominions as a pledge for reftoring every thing at the conclufion of a peace to its former footing: an equal juftice towards all the ftates had, perhaps, promoted the good underftanding between all parties, and compelled the Swedes to a difgraceful retreat from Germany. But the fevere treatment of the Proteftants upon this occafion, augmented their fpirit of oppofition, and facilitated the defigns of the Swedes.

The treaty of Prague, as was expected, was received throughout Germany with various emotions. The efforts which were made to reconcile the hoftile parties increafed the reproaches of both; the Proteftants complained againft the reftraints which were impofed upon them, the Catholics murmured againft the indulgence with which their enemies were treated. It was loudly exclaimed that the interefts of the church were facrificed, fince a forty years poffeffion of its chapters was formally granted to the Catholics; according to fome, treachery was manifeft towards the Proteftants, becaufe toleration was not obtained for their brethren in the Auftrian dominions. But no perfon was

was ſo much reproached as the Elector of Saxony, who was publicly repreſented as a deſerter, a traitor againſt liberty and religion, and a partiſan of the Emperor.

Ferdinand, meanwhile, conſoled himſelf that the treaty which he concluded was embraced by moſt of the Proteſtant ſtates; it was agreed to by the Elector of Brandenburg, William Duke of Weimar, the Princes of Anhalt, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, thoſe of Brunſwic Lunenburg, the Hanſe Towns, and moſt of the Imperial free cities. William Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel long wavered, or affected to do ſo, in order to gain time to conform to circumſtances; he had conquered ſome fertile countries in Weſtphalia, from whence he drew his chief means of ſupporting the war, and which, according to the terms of the peace, he was bound to reſtore. Bernard Duke of Weimar, whoſe territories exiſted only upon paper, was conſidered not as a hoſtile power, but merely as a general, and in both capacities it was natural for him to deteſt the treaty of Prague. All that prince's riches conſiſted in his valour, and his ſword was his only fortune; it was the war alone which rendered him important, and gratified his ambition.

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But among all who declared againſt the treaty of Prague, none were ſo loud in their clamours as the Swedes, who were moſt interested in it. Invited by the Germans themſelves, champions of the Proteſtant religion, and of the German liberties, which they had purchaſed at the expenſe of ſo much blood and by the life of their ſovereign, they now beheld themſelves abandoned, deceived in their plans, and ungratefully driven out of the Empire; no indemnification or reward was provided for them by the treaty; they were now poorer than on their arrival, and to be driven from Germany by the very powers which invited them. At length the Elector of Saxony ſpoke of indemnification, and mentioned the ſmall ſum of 2,500,000 florins; but the Swedes had rated their ſervices at a higher price, and ſcorned to accept of a pecuniary recompence. "The "Electors of Bavaria and Saxony," exclaimed Oxenſtern, "are paid for the ſervices which "they render the Emperor with whole provinces; and are we Swedes, who have already "ſacrificed our king for Germany, to be diſmiſſed with the ſmall ſum of 2,500,000 "florins?" The diſappointed expectation was the more painful, as the Swedes flattered themſelves with receiving, as a reward of their ſer-

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vices, the dutchy of Pomerania, whose present possessor was old and wanted heirs. But the inheritance of that dutchy was, by the treaty of Prague, secured to the Elector of Brandenburg; and all parties exclaimed against the Swedes obtaining a footing in Germany.

The Swedes had never experienced such a reverse of fortune as during the present year 1635, immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of Prague. Many of their allies, particularly the free cities, forsook them in order to benefit by the peace; others were compelled to it by the victorious arms of the Emperor; Augsburg, perishing with hunger, submitted under severe conditions; Wirtzburg and Coburg yielded to the Emperor; the confederacy of Hailbron was formally dissolved; almost all the south of Germany, which contained the principal force of the Swedes, submitted to the Austrians. Saxony, in consequence of the treaty of Prague, demanded the evacuation of Thuringia, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg; Philipsburg, the French depôt, was surprised, together with all its military stores, and that great loss diminished the activity of France. To complete the embarrassment of Sweden, the cessation of hostilities with Poland was drawing near

near an end; to ſupport a war at the ſame time with the German empire and with Poland, was an undertaking much above the power of Sweden, who had to make choice of one or the other. Pride and ambition declared in favour of the German war, which threatened to coſt a large ſacrifice on the ſide of Poland: an army was at all events neceſſary to keep Poland in reſpect, even at the concluſion of a peace, or a ceſſation of hoſtilities.

All theſe misfortunes preſented themſelves at once to the genius of Oxenſtern, ſo fertile in expedients, and whoſe penetrating mind knew how to turn even calamity to his advantage. The defection of ſo many German ſtates from the Swediſh party, had deprived him of allies which had hitherto ſupported him; but at the ſame time he was releaſed from all obligations towards them, and the more numerous were his enemies, the more his armies could ſpread and provide themſelves with reſources. The palpable ingratitude of the ſtates, and the haughty contempt with which he was treated by the Emperor (who did not condeſcend to negotiate with *him* about a peace), excited in Oxenſtern all the feelings of deſpair and a juſt indignation. A war, though ever ſo diſadvantageous,

tageous, could not render the ſituation of the Swedes worſe; and if Germany was to be evacuated, it was more reputable to abandon it ſword in hand, and to yield to force rather than to fear.

In the great extremity in which the Swedes found themſelves by the deſertion of their allies, they applied to France, which met them with the moſt advantageous offers; the intereſts of both crowns were united, and France, by permitting the ruin of the Swedes in Germany, acted againſt itſelf. The bad ſituation of the Swedes was, perhaps, the motive which induced the French to a cloſer alliance, and to take a more active part in the war. Since the treaty with Sweden at Beerwalde, in the year 1632, France had ſtopped the progreſs of the Imperial arms, through the means of Guſtavus Adolphus, without an open breach, and by the ſubſidies which ſhe gave to the latter; but rendered uneaſy by the ſudden and extraordinary ſucceſs of the Swedes, France altered her firſt plan for ſome time, in order to re-eſtabliſh that balance of power which was injured by the ſuperiority of the former. The French endeavoured to ſave the Catholic princes of the Empire, by making

making them embrace a neutral syſtem, and on the failure of that deſign, were ready to take up arms againſt the northern conqueror. But no ſooner had the death of Guſtavus Adolphus and the adverſity of the Swedes diſſipated theſe apprehenſions, than France immediately returned to her former ſyſtem, and afforded that protection to the unfortunate which ſhe denied them under more favourable circumſtances. Richelieu, who was freed by the death of the Swediſh king from all the oppoſition with which his ſchemes for aggrandizement had hitherto met, embraced the favourable opportunity of the defeat at Nordlingen, to obtain himſelf the entire direction of the war; the conjuncture favoured his boldeſt projects, and juſtified ſchemes which had hitherto appeared chimerical. He accordingly turned all his attention to the German war, and after ſecuring his private plans by an alliance with the Germans, he appeared as a leader upon the political theatre: while the hoſtile powers exhauſted themſelves by mutual efforts, France had ſpared herſelf, and during ten years carried on the war with money; but now, when the ſeaſon for activity arrived, Richelieu ſeized the ſword, and diſplayed efforts which ſet all Europe in aſtoniſhment. He ordered two fleets

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to cruiſe upon the ſeas, and ſent out ſix different armies, at the ſame time that he had in his pay a crown and ſeveral German princes. Encouraged by ſo powerful a protection, the Swedes and Germans recovered from their conſternation, and hoped to obtain by the ſword a more favourable peace than that of Prague. Abandoned by their confederates, who treated with the Emperor, the Proteſtant ſtates formed a cloſer union with France, which redoubled its ſupport with the increaſing neceſſity, and took a more active, though ſtill a private ſhare, in the war in Germany, until it at length threw off the maſk, and openly attacked the Emperor.

In order to leave Sweden at full liberty to act againſt Germany, France commenced with terminating the Poliſh war. By means of the Count d'Avaux its miniſter, its concluded an agreement with both powers, which at length was brought about at Stummerſdorf in Pruſſia, not without great loſſes on the part of the Swedes, who ceded almoſt the whole of Poliſh Pruſſia, which had been purchaſed at ſuch expenſe by Guſtavus Adolphus, and the treaty was prolonged for twenty-ſix years; that of Beerwalde was renewed till a future period after

ſome alterations, which the circumſtances rendered neceſſary, firſt at Compeigne, and then at Wiſmar and Hamburg: a rupture was already commenced with France in 1635, and by the vigorous attack of that power, the Emperor was deprived of the firmeſt ſupport from the Netherlands. By ſupporting the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel and the Duke of Weimar, the Swedes were enabled to act with greater vigour upon the Elbe and the Danube, and the Emperor was compelled to divide his force by a powerful diverſion upon the Rhine.

The war was now proſecuted with increaſing vigour; and though, by the treaty of Prague, the Emperor leſſened the number of his enemies in Germany, he at the ſame time augmented the zeal and activity of his exterior foes; he had obtained an unlimited influence throughout all the Empire, and was almoſt abſolute maſter of every ſtate, with a few exceptions. The firſt effects of this appeared by his procuring for his ſon Ferdinand III. the dignity of King of the Romans, in which he prevailed by a plurality of voices, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the heirs of the Elector of Treves, and of the Elector Palatine; but he had exaſperated the Swedes to a deſperate reſiſtance, and introduced

duced the French into the midſt of Germany. Both crowns now formed a cloſe alliance againſt the Emperor and his confederates. From this period the Swedes, who no longer fought for Germany, but for their own exiſtence, diſplayed no meaſures of diſcretion, and they acted in a more bold and raſh manner; battles, though leſs deciſive, became more bloody and obſtinate; greater exploits, more intrepidity and military ſkill were exhibited: but thoſe events had leſs influence upon the general ſucceſs of the war.

Saxony had engaged by the treaty of Prague to expel the Swedes from Germany; the Saxons became reconciled to the Auſtrians, and joined them. The archbiſhopric of Magdeburg, which had been promiſed to a prince of Saxony, was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the Swedes, and every attempt to acquire it by negotiation had failed; hoſtilities commenced by the Elector of Saxony's recalling all his ſubjects from Bannier's army, which had encamped upon the Elbe; the officers, long irritated by the want of their arrears, attended this citation, and evacuated one quarter after another. As the Saxons at the ſame time made a movement towards Mecklenburg, in order to take Doemitz, and cut off

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the Swedes from Pomerania and the Baltic; Bannier ſuddenly marched towards that quarter, relieved Doemitz, and totally defeated the Saxon General Baudiſſin with 7000 men, one thouſand of whom were killed on the ſpot, and another made priſoners. Reinforced by the troops and artillery which lay in Poliſh Pruſſia, and which might be ſpared from that country ſince the treaty at Stummerſdorf, that brave and impetuous general, the next year, 1636, made an inroad into Saxony, and marked his progreſs by the moſt deſtructive ravages; the unfortunate inhabitants became expoſed to the whole force of his indignation; he was exaſperated by the former haughtineſs of the Saxons while friends, and now ſtill more as enemies. Againſt the Saxons, the Swedes diſplayed much greater animoſity than againſt the Auſtrians and Bavarians, becauſe they oppoſed the latter only from a ſenſe of duty, while towards the former they ſhowed that the rage of divided friends is the moſt implacable *. The powerful diverſion which the Duke of Weimar and the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel made againſt the Empe-

* An obſervation confirmed by the experience of ages. The late rebellion in Ireland affords a ſtrong example, where near relations fought on oppoſite ſides, and neither gave nor took quarter. *Tranſ.*

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ror, prevented the latter from affording the neceſſary aſſiſtance to Saxony, and expoſed that electorate to the ravages of Horn's army. At length the Elector having formed a junction with the Imperial General Hatzfeld, advanced againſt Magdeburg, which Horn immediately haſtened to relieve; the united Saxon and Auſtrian armies were now ſpread over the march of Brandenburg, took ſeveral places from the Swedes, and nearly drove them to the Baltic. But contrary to every expectation, Bannier, though given up for loſt, attacked the allied armies on the 24th of September 1636, at Witſtock, where a bloody battle took place. The attack was furious, and the whole force of the enemy was directed againſt the right wing of the Swedes, led on by Bannier in perſon: a deſperate conflict enſued, and there was ſcarce a Swediſh ſquadron which did not return ten times to the charge, and was as often repulſed. When Bannier was at length obliged to yield to the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, his left wing maintained the combat until night, and the ſecond line of the Swedes, which had not come into action, was prepared to renew it the next morning. But the Saxon did not await another attack; his troops were exhauſted by the preceding day's exertions; and as the drivers

fled with their horſes, his artillery was unſerviceable; he accordingly retired the ſame night with Hatzfeld, and abandoned the field of battle to the Swedes. Above 5000 of the allies were killed upon the ſpot, without reckoning thoſe who were ſlaughtered by the Swediſh purſuers and the exaſperated peaſantry; 100 ſtandards and colours, twenty-three cannon, together with the Elector's ſilver plate, were taken, and 2000 priſoners. This brilliant victory, achieved over a far more numerous and advantageouſly poſted enemy, reſtored the Swedes at once to their ancient reputation; their enemies trembled, and their allies were inſpired with new hopes. Bannier immediately profited by his ſucceſſes to croſs the Elbe, and drove the Auſtrians before him through Thuringia and Caſſel to Weſtphalia; he then returned, and took up his quarters in Saxony.

But without the aſſiſtance which he received from the diverſion which the Duke of Weimar and the French made on the Rhine, he could never profit by this ſplendid victory. The former had, after the defeat at Nordlingen, aſſembled the remains of the beaten army in Wetterau; but forſaken by his confederates at Hailbron, who were diſſolved by the peace

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of Prague, he could no longer ſupport the army, nor perform great exploits; the defeat at Nordlingen had deſtroyed all his hopes to obtain the dutchy of Franconia, and the weakneſs of the Swedes deprived him of the hope of advancing his fortune through their means. Wearied by the conſtraint which the pretenſions of the Swediſh Chancellor impoſed upon him, he applied to France, who ſupplied him with money, the article he moſt wanted. Richelieu deſired nothing ſo much as to remove from the Swedes the conduct of the war, and to place it in his own hands: to attain this end, no means were ſo expedient as detaching their beſt general from them, bringing him into the intereſt of France, and ſecuring the obedience of his army. A prince, ſuch as the Duke of Weimar, who could not exiſt without foreign ſupport, was the more eaſily prevailed on to embrace that meaſure, as he could not remain any conſiderable time independent of France. The Duke himſelf went to France, and in October 1635, concluded with Richelieu a treaty at St. Germain en Laye, not for the Swediſh general, but in his own name, by which it was ſtipulated that he was to receive 1,500,000 livres for himſelf, and 4,000,000 for the ſubſiſtence of an army which was to

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act under the French King's orders. To inspire him with greater zeal, and facilitate the conquest of Alsace, a secret promise was given him, that that province should be secured to himself, a promise which the Duke knew there was no intention of performing. But confiding in his army and his own good fortune, he opposed one piece of dissimulation to another; if once able to wrest Alsace from the enemy, he would not scruple to defend it also against his ally. With French gold he now raised an army which acted apparently under France, but which he commanded in reality without entirely abandoning the Swedish general: he commenced his operations upon the Rhine, where another French army under Cardinal La Valette, had the preceding year, 1635, begun hostilities.

It was against this general that the grand Imperial army, after their great victory at Nordlingen, advanced under Gallas, and fortunately drove the French back to Metz, cleared the Rhine of the enemy, and took Mentz and Frankenthal from the Swedes. But Gallas, frustrated in his design of taking up his winter-quarters in France by the vigorous resistance of the French, was compelled to retire to the exhausted provinces of Alsace and Suabia. At the

the opening of the ensuing campaign he however passed the Rhine at Brisach, and prepared to remove the war into the interior of France. He actually fell upon Burgundy, while the Spaniards penetrated from the Netherlands into Picardy, and John de Werth, a formidable general and celebrated partisan, entered Champagne, and spread consternation as far as the gates of Paris. But all the bravery of the Austrians failed before an inconsiderable fortress in Franche Comté, and they were a second time compelled to abandon their designs.

The Duke of Weimar's active genius had been hitherto restrained by his dependance on a French general, who was fitter for the priesthood than the falchion: and although in conjunction with the latter he took Saverne in Alsace, he was not able, in the years 1636 and 1637, to maintain his position upon the Rhine. The ill success of the French arms in the Netherlands had checked their operations on the Rhine, in Alsace and Brisgau; but in the year 1638 the war took a brilliant turn in these parts. Finding himself without further constraint, and with the unlimited command of his troops, he left, in the beginning of February, his winter-quarters, which he had taken in the

bishopric

bishopric of Basle, and, contrary to every expectation, advanced towards the Rhine, where nothing less than an attack was expected. The Forest towns of Laufenburg, Waldshut, and Seckingen, were taken in this expedition, and Reinfeld besieged. The commanding general of the Austrians, the Duke of Savelli, repaired by hasty marches to relieve that important place, actually raised its siege, and drove the Duke of Weimar, not without great loss, from before it. But, contrary to all human expectations, the latter appeared the third day after (on the 21st of February 1638) in order of battle, in front of the Imperialists, and while they were enjoying their victory in full security, totally defeated them: in this battle their four generals, Savelli, Werth, Enkenford, and Sperkreiter, together with 2000 men, were taken prisoners. Two of the generals, Werth and Enkenford, Richelieu had afterwards conveyed to France, in order to flatter the vanity of the French nation by the sight of such distinguished captives, and to conceal, under the mask of victory, the public miseries. With this view the standards and colours taken at Reinfeld were brought in solemn procession to the church of our Lady, thrice exhibited before the altar, and committed to sacred custody.

The

The taking of Reinfeld, Roeteln, and Freyburg, were the immediate consequences of the Duke of Weimar's victory. His army considerably increased, and his projects expanded in proportion as fortune favoured him. The fortress of Brisach, on the Upper Rhine, commanded that river, and was regarded as the key to Alsace. No place in that quarter was of more importance to the Austrians, nor guarded with such care. It was to defend it that the Italian army under the Duke of Feria was principally destined; its strength bade defiance to every attack, and the Imperial generals who commanded in that quarter received express orders to hazard every thing in its defence: but the Duke, relying upon his good fortune, resolved to attack this fortress. Its strength rendering it impregnable, it could only be starved into a surrender; and the negligence of its governor, who had converted his provision of corn into money, expecting no attack, hastened its conquest. As under these circumstances it could not sustain a long siege, it must either be speedily relieved or victualled. The Austrian general Goetz accordingly advanced at the head of 12,000 men, attended by 3000 provision-waggons, which he intended to have thrown into the place. But he was attacked with

with vigour by the Duke at Witteveyer, and loſt all his corps except 3000 men, together with his entire tranſport. A ſimilar fate was experienced by the Duke of Lorrain at Oxenfeld, near Thann, who, at the head of between 5 and 6000 men, undertook to relieve the fortreſs. After a third ſimilar attempt of General Goetz had failed, Briſach, reduced to the utmoſt extremity by hunger, ſurrendered, after a four months ſiege, on the 7th of December 1638, to its equally obſtinate and humane conqueror.

The conqueſt of Briſach now opened a boundleſs field for the Duke of Weimar's ambition, and his romantic projects became nearly realized. Far from ſurrendering this conqueſt to France, he received its homage in his own name. Intoxicated by his former ſucceſſes, he now imagined that he could depend upon himſelf, and maintain his conqueſt independent of France. At that period, when every thing depended upon courage, when even perſonal ſtrength was of importance, and armies and generals were of more conſequence than provinces, it was natural for a hero, ſuch as the Duke of Weimar, at the head of an excellent army, who felt themſelves under his orders invincible,

vincible, not to be diſcouraged in any project. In order to obtain a ſupport againſt his numerous enemies, he turned his eyes towards Amelia Landgravene of Heſſe, widow of the lately-deceaſed Landgrave William, a woman of ſenſe equal to her courage, who could beſtow valuable conqueſts, a formidable army, and an extenſive principality, with her hand. By the union of the conqueſts of Heſſe Caſſel with his own upon the Rhine, and the formation of both armies into one, a conſiderable power might be maintained in Germany, and perhaps even a third party which might decide the fate of the war. But a ſpeedy death terminated theſe extenſive ſchemes.

Briſach is ours, cried Richelieu to the Capucin father Joſeph, whom he ſent upon a ſecond embaſſy into Germany; ſo much was he tranſported with this pleaſing intelligence. He had already intended to demand Alſace, Briſgau, and all the advanced provinces of Auſtria, without regarding the promiſe which he had made to the Duke of Weimar. The earneſt deſire which the latter unequivocally diſplayed of maintaining Briſach for himſelf cauſed Richelieu the utmoſt embarraſſment, and every effort was made to retain the Duke

in the intereſt of France. He was invited to court in order to receive the honours due to his triumph:—but he perceived the artifice, and eluded it. He was even honoured by an invitation to eſpouſe the Cardinal's niece; but the proud German prince ſcorned to contaminate the Saxon blood by an inferior marriage. He was now regarded as a dangerous enemy, and treated as ſuch; his ſubſidies were withdrawn; and the governor of Briſach, together with his principal officers, were bribed (at leaſt after the Duke's death) of ſecure his troops and his conqueſts. Theſe artifices were no ſecret to the Duke, and the meaſures which he embraced in the conquered places betrayed his diſtruſt of France. But this quarrel with the French court had the worſt effect upon his future operations. The preparations which he made to defend his conqueſts againſt an attack of the French compelled him to divide his force; and the loſs of his ſubſidies delayed his appearance in the field. His intention was to paſs the Rhine, to relieve the Swedes, and, on the banks of the Danube, to attack the Emperor and Bavaria. He had already diſcloſed his projects to Bannier, who was preparing to carry the war into Auſtria, and promiſed to relieve him, when his ſudden death at Neu-

burg on the Rhine, in July 1639, terminated, in the thirty-fixth year of his age, the immortal career of a hero.

He died of a diforder refembling the plague, which, within two days, carried off 400 men in the camp. The black fpots which appeared upon his corpfe, his own declaration upon his death-bed, and the advantages which France could derive from his deceafe, excited a fufpicion that he was removed by poifon; but this was effectually contradicted by the fymptoms of his diforder. In him the allies loft their greateft general fince Guftavus Adolphus, France a dangerous competitor for Alface, and the Emperor a moft formidable enemy. Formed in the fchool of Guftavus Adolphus a hero and a general, he fuccefsfully imitated his great mafter, and a longer life alone was wanting to prevent the copy from equalling, if not furpaffing, the original. With all the impetuous courage of a foldier he united the cool and firm penetration of a general, the perfevering valour of a man with the boldnefs of youth, the fire of a warrior with all the graceful dignity of a prince, the prudence of a wife man with the confcientioufnefs of a man of honour. Difcouraged by no misfortune, he recovered from

his defeats with rapidity and vigour, undifmayed by no obftacles or difappointments. His genius foared, perhaps, to a height which could not be attained by any human efforts; but fuch men are directed by other motives than thofe which vifibly guide ordinary capacities; and, confcious of his own capacity, he formed plans which would be imprudent in moft men. Bernard affords, in modern hiftory, a beautiful image of thofe ages of chivalry when perfonal valour prevailed, individual prowefs conquered provinces, and the feats of a German knight raifed him to the Imperial throne.

The beft part of the Duke's poffeffions was his army, which, together with Alface, he bequeathed to his brother William. But France and Sweden thought they had well-grounded claims upon this army; the latter, becaufe it was raifed in his name, and the former becaufe by its means it was fupported. Even the Electoral Prince of the Palatinate fought to employ it in the reconqueft of his dominions, and tampered with it, firft by his agents and tnen in perfon. Attempts were made on the part of Auftria to win this army; a circumftance the lefs furprifing when we reflect that the juftice of the caufe was then lefs confidered than its recompence,

recompence, and courage, like other commodities, was diſpoſed of to the higheſt bidder. But France, richer and more determined, outbid the competitors: it bought over General Erlach, who commanded at Briſach, and the other chiefs, who delivered up that fortreſs, together with the entire army. The young Count Palatine, Charles Louis, who had already made an unfortunate campaign againſt the Emperor, was now deceived in his hopes. In order to be a witneſs of this bad ſervice which France rendered him, he imprudently entered that kingdom, and ſtill more imprudently concealed his name. The Cardinal, who dreaded the juſt cauſe of the Palatine, was ready to embrace any meaſure to fruſtrate his deſigns. He accordingly had him ſeized, in breach of the laws of nations, at Moulin, and did not reſtore him to liberty until he was informed of the purchaſe of Weimar's troops. France now ſaw itſelf poſſeſſed of a conſiderable force in Germany; and from this moment commenced an open war with the Emperor.

But it was no longer Ferdinand II. whom the French had to oppoſe; that prince had died in February 1637, in the 59th year of his age. The war which his ambition had excited ſur-

vived him. During an eighteen years reign he had never laid aſide the ſword, nor taſted the bleſſings of peace. He was a prince endowed with the talents of a good ſovereign, which might be turned towards the benefit of his ſubjects. Mild and humane by nature, but entertaining a wrong idea of his prerogative, he was the inſtrument of other men's paſſions: he failed in his good intentions; and the friend of juſtice was converted into the oppreſſor of mankind, the enemy of peace, and the ſcourge of his people. Amiable in private life and reſpectable as a ſovereign, he was only ill-adviſed in his politics; and while he obtained the eſteem of the Catholics, he drew down upon him the execration of the Proteſtants. Hiſtory has repreſented to us more wicked deſpots than Ferdinand II. but he alone had the ſingular fate of kindling a *thirty years war*; but his ambition muſt, in order to excite ſuch evil conſequences, have unfortunately coincided with the period and the prejudices of the times. At a more peaceful period his ambition could not have ſucceeded, and the age might have enjoyed tranquillity; but now a ſpark unfortunately fell upon the long-prepared combuſtibles, and Europe was ſet in a blaze.

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His ſon Ferdinand III. who a few months before had been raiſed to the dignity of King of the Romans, inherited his throne, his principles, and his war. But Ferdinand III. had beheld, at a cloſer view, the miſeries of the people and the devaſtation of the country, and ſaw the neceſſity of a peace. Leſs governed by the Jeſuits and the Spaniards, and more moderate towards other religions, he was more ſuſceptible than his father of hearkening to the voice of reaſon. He accordingly liſtened to it, and granted a peace to Europe; but not until after a conteſt of eleven years with the ſword and the pen, when he found reſiſtance vain, and neceſſity had dictated it to him.

Fortune attended his acceſſion to the throne, and his arms were victorious againſt the Swedes. The latter had, under Bannier's vigorous orders, taken up their winter-quarters in Saxony, after their victory at Wittſtock, and opened the campaign of 1637 by the ſiege of Leipzig. The brave defence of the garriſon, and the approach of the Imperial and Electoral troops, ſaved that city; and Bannier, in order to avoid being cut off from the Elbe, retired to Torgau. But the ſuperiority of the Imperialiſts alſo drove him thence; and ſurrounded by the enemy, inter-

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rupted by rivers, and preffed by hunger, he was compelled to undertake a perilous retreat into Pomerania, the boldnefs and fortunate iffue of which border upon romance. The whole army waded through a fhallow part of the Oder at Furftenburg, and the men drew the artillery when the horfes became difabled. Bannier had expected to find General Wrangel upon the other fide of the Oder, and in conjunction with him to attack the enemy. Wrangel appeared not, but in his ftead an Imperial army was pofted at Landfberg, to cut off the retreat of the Swedes. Bannier now faw he had got into a dangerous fnare, from which he could not extricate himfelf. At his rear lay an exhaufted country, and on his left the Auftrians and the Oder, which was guarded by the Imperial general Bucheim, and did not afford a paffage. He had before his front Landfberg, Cuftrin, the Warta, and an enemy's army; Poland, which, notwithftanding the truce, he could not truft, was on his right. It is not furprifing, if in fuch a fituation he gave himfelf up for loft, and that the Imperialifts already triumphed in his inevitable deftruction. Bannier, with juft indignation, accufed the French as the authors of his misfortune. They had neglected to make, according

to

to their promiſe, a diverſion upon the Rhine; and their inactivity enabled the Emperor to employ his whole force againſt the Swedes. "If we are one day," exclaimed the incenſed general to the French commiſſioner, who followed the Swediſh camp, "to join the Ger-"mans in a war with France, we ſhall croſs "the Rhine with leſs ceremony." But reproaches were now expended in vain, when circumſtances required an immediate reſolution. In order, by ſtratagem, to draw the enemy from the Oder, he pretended to direct his march towards Poland, and actually ſent by that route a great part of the baggage, together with his wife, and the reſt of the officers ladies. The Imperialiſts immediately broke off towards the frontiers of Poland, to intercept his retreat; and Bucheim forſook his poſition, by which the Oder was cleared. Bannier on a ſudden, taking advantage of the night, returned to that river, and croſſed it a mile above Cuſtrin, with baggage and artillery, without either boats or bridges, in the ſame manner as he had done at Furſtenburg. He arrived without loſs in Pomerania, to defend which Wrangel and he were now occupied.

But the Imperialifts under the command of Gallas entered that dutchy at Ribfes, and over-ran it with their fuperior ftrength; Ufedom and Wolgaft were taken by ftorm, Demmin by capitulation; and the Swedes were driven to Lower Pomerania. It was now more than ever of confequence to maintain a footing in this dutchy, as at that period its Duke Bogif-las XVII. had died, and the Swedes refolved to enforce their claims to Pomerania. In order to prevent the Elector of Brandenburg from eftablifhing his right to the fucceffion of that dutchy, which he was alfo promifed by the treaty of Prague, Sweden exerted all her ftrength, and vigoroufly fupported her generals both with men and money. In other parts of the Empire, the affairs of the Swedes began to affume a more favourable afpect, and gradu-ally recovered from the humiliating fituation in which the inactivity of France and the defer-tion of their allies had placed them; they had loft every poft in Upper Saxony after their retreat to Pomerania; the Dukes of Mecklen-burg, terrified by the Imperial arms, began to incline to the Emperor's party, and even George Duke of Lunenburg openly declared for him. Ehrenbreitftein was ftarved to a furrender by the Bavarian general Werth, and the Auftrians

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poſſeſſed themſelves of all the works which were thrown up on the Rhine; France had loſt in its conteſt with Spain, and the iſſue by no means anſwered the pompous expectations which were formed on commencing the war with the latter power; every place was loſt which the Swedes poſſeſſed in the interior of Germany, and they ſtill maintained only the principal towns in Pomerania. One ſingle campaign recovered them from all theſe calamities, and the powerful diverſion which the Duke of Weimar made on the Rhine at once gave a new turn to the war.

The quarrels between France and Sweden were at length laid aſide, and the old treaty between theſe crowns was renewed at Hamburg with new advantages for the Swedes. In Heſſe Caſſel the politic Landgravine Amelia, having obtained the conſent of the ſtates, aſſumed the reins of government after the demiſe of her huſband, and reſolutely maintained her rights againſt the Emperor and the line of Darmſtadt. The Swediſh Proteſtant party, zealouſly devoted to their religion, only awaited a favourable moment to declare themſelves; they in the mean time ſucceeded by artfully prolonging a negotiation with the Em-

peror, to gain time until their private treaty was concluded with France, and the Duke of Weimar's victories had effected a fortunate change in the affairs of the Proteſtants; they then threw off the maſk, and publicly renewed their old friendſhip with Sweden. The Duke of Weimar's ſucceſs even encouraged the Palatine Prince to ſeek his fortune againſt the common enemy; with Engliſh gold he raiſed troops in Holland, formed a magazine at Meppen, and united in Weſtphalia with the Swediſh troops. His magazine was in fact loſt; his army was defeated by General Hatzfeld at Flotha; but his expedition occupied for a conſiderable time the enemy, and facilitated the operations of the Swedes in other quarters. New allies aroſe to join the Swedes, and it was ſufficiently fortunate for them that they compelled Lower Saxony to embrace a neutrality.

Favoured by theſe important advantages, and reinforced by 14,000 men from Sweden and Livonia, Bannier opened the campaign of the year 1638, with every expectation of ſucceſs. The Imperialiſts, who had taken poſſeſſion of Upper Pomerania and Mecklenburg, either abandoned their poſts, or deſerted in

troops

troops to the Swedish colours, to avoid that hunger which was their most formidable enemy in those exhausted countries; such repeated marching and quarters wasted the territory between the Elbe and the Oder, and Bannier was under the necessity, to avoid having his army starved on its march, of making a circuit from Lower Pomerania through Lower Saxony, and fell into the electorate of Saxony from Halberstadt; the impatience of the Lower Saxon states to rid themselves of such a guest, made them provide him with the necessary provisions, so that his troops had bread at Magdeburg, a country where hunger had already overcome men's disgust at human flesh.

He spread consternation among the Saxons by his approach; but it was not on that exhausted country, but upon the hereditary dominions of Austria, that his designs were bent; the Duke of Weimar's victories encouraged him, and the prosperous state of the Austrian provinces excited his avarice. After he had beaten the Imperial general Salis at Elsterbug, annihilated the Saxon army near Chemnitz, and taken Pirna, he entered Bohemia with irresistible impetuosity, crossed the Elbe, threatened

ened Prague, took Brandeis and Leitmeritz, defeated General Hofkirch with ten regiments, and ſpread terror and devaſtation throughout that defenceleſs kingdom; booty was all that was ſought, and what could not be removed was deſtroyed. In order to convey away the new corn, the ears were cut off from the ſtalks, and the latter burnt; above a thouſand caſtles, hamlets, and villages were laid in aſhes, and a hundred were often ſeen in flames during one night. From Bohemia he extended his ravages to Sileſia, and it was his intention to carry them into Auſtria and Moravia; to prevent this, General Hatzfeld was recalled from Weſtphalia, and Piccolomini from the Netherlands: the Archduke Leopold, brother to the Emperor, received the chief command, in order to repair the incapacity of his predeceſſor Gallas, and reſtore the Imperial army to its former reputation.

The iſſue juſtified theſe new meaſures, and the campaign which the Swedes began in 1640, appeared to have taken an unfortunate turn for them; they were ſucceſſively driven from all their poſts in Bohemia, and anxious only to ſecure their plunder, they haſtily retreated to the heights of Meiſſen. But they were purſued

ſued by the enemy through Saxony, and being beaten at Plauen, were obliged to retreat into Thuringia. From the ſummit of ſucceſs, they were once more humbled only again to recover their former conſideration; Bannier's weak army, on the brink of deſtruction in its camp at Erfurt, ſuddenly recovered itſelf: the Dukes of Lunenburg abandoned the treaty of Prague, and joined him with the troops which they had ſome time before led againſt him; Heſſe Caſſel ſent reinforcements, and the Duke of Longueville ſupported him with the late Duke of Weimar's army. Once more ſuperior in numbers to the Imperialiſts, Bannier offered them battle at Saalfeld; but their general, Piccolomini, prudently avoided it, and occupied a poſition too ſtrong to be forced. When the Bavarians at length ſeparated from the Imperialiſts, and directed their march towards Franconia, Bannier attempted an attack upon this divided corps; but his deſign was fruſtrated by the ſkill of the Bavarian general Mercy, and the near approach of the Imperialiſts. Both armies now entered the exhauſted territory of Heſſe, where they formed intrenched camps cloſe to each other, until at length hunger and the ſeverity of the winter compelled them to retire. Piccolomini took up his winter-

quarters

quarters upon the rich banks of the Weſer, but finding himſelf outflanked by Bannier, he was obliged to abandon them and retreat into Franconia.

At this period a diet was held at Ratiſbon, where deliberations took place concerning a peace. The preſence of the Emperor, who ſat as preſident in the Electoral College, the plurality of voices in favour of the Catholics, the great number of biſhops, and the deſertion of ſeveral Proteſtant ſtates, inclined the tranſactions of this aſſembly to favour the Emperor, and deprived it of every claim to impartiality. The Proteſtants, not without reaſon, beheld it as a conſpiracy of Auſtria and its creatures againſt them, and thought it expedient, as ſoon as poſſible, to diſſolve ſuch a diet.

Bannier undertook that bold enterpriſe; his military reputation had already ſuffered by his retreat out of Bohemia, and required ſome freſh exploit to recover its former luſtre. Without communicating his deſigns to any perſon, he left his quarters at Lunenburg in the ſevereſt cold of the winter 1641, when the roads and rivers were frozen: accompanied by Marechal de Guebriant, who commanded the French and

and the Duke of Weimar's army, he penetrated through Thuringia and Voigtland, and appeared under the walls of Ratiſbon before the diet was apprized of his approach. The conſternation of that aſſembly was inconceivable, and all the deputies immediately prepared themſelves for flight; the Emperor alone declared he would not forſake the town, and encouraged the reſt by his example: to the misfortune of the Swedes, a thaw came on, which rendered the Danube impaſſable, either by boats or a bridge, by reaſon of the large pieces of ice which were carried down the ſtream. Perſonally to inſult the Emperor, Bannier fired 500 cannon ſhots againſt the town, which, however, cauſed no great miſchief. Diſappointed in his ſcheme, he now reſolved to penetrate into Bavaria and Moravia, which was defenceleſs, in order to procure a rich booty, and more comfortable winter-quarters for his troops; but no perſuaſions could prevail upon the French general to follow him; Guebriant feared a deſign was formed to remove Weimar's army ſo far from the Rhine as to be able to gain it over, or prevent its acting independently. He accordingly ſeparated from Bannier, and returned towards the Maine, by which the Swede ſaw himſelf expoſed to the whole force of

of the Imperial army, which ſecretly aſſembled between Ratiſbon and Ingolſtadt, and advanced againſt him. He was now to begin a retreat in face of an enemy ſuperior in cavalry, between rivers, woods, and hoſtile territories. He immediately entered the Foreſt, intending to retire through Bohemia and Saxony; but he was obliged to abandon three of his regiments at Neuburg. Theſe held, during four entire days, the enemy at bay behind an old wall, and gained time for Bannier to eſcape. He retreated near Egra to Annaberg: Piccolomini purſued him, by a ſhorter route, through Schlakkenwald, and was only half an hour too late to ſeize the paſſes at Priſnitz, and deſtroy the Swediſh army. Guebriant again formed a junction with Bannier's army, and both directed their march to Halberſtadt, after having in vain endeavoured to defend the river Sala againſt the Auſtrians.

Bannier at length terminated his career at Halberſtadt in May 1641, a victim to diſappointment and vexation. He maintained with great renown, though with various ſucceſs, the reputation of the Swediſh arms in Germany, and ſhowed himſelf, by a train of victories, to be worthy of his great maſter in the art of

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war. He was fertile in expedients, and formed, with impenetrable ſecrecy, deſigns, which he executed with boldneſs; greater in adverſity than in good fortune, and never more formidable than when at the brink of deſtruction: but his military talents were tarniſhed with that unamiable diſpoſition which but too often accompanies the ſoldier. Equally haughty in private life as at the head of his army, boiſterous as his profeſſion, and proud as a conqueror, he oppreſſed the German princes no leſs by his pride than by his contributions in their territories: after his warlike toils he regaled himſelf by the joys of the table, which he indulged to exceſs, and which brought him to an early grave. But though addicted to pleaſure as much as Alexander or Mahomet II. he could in a moment forſake it to reſume the dangers of his command; near 80,000 men fell in the many battles in which he was engaged, and 600 ſtandards and colours which he took from the enemy and ſent to Stockholm, were trophies of his victories. The loſs of this celebrated general was immediately felt by the Swedes, and it was feared that ſuch a man could not be replaced; the ſpirit of inſubordination, retained within bounds by the great authority of Bannier, awoke upon his death;

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the officers with an alarming unanimity demanded their dismissal, and none of the four generals who shared the command after Bannier could silence these discontents; discipline was at an end; increasing want, and the Imperial citations, daily diminished the forces; the French army showed little zeal; the Lunenburgers forsook the Swedish colours after the Princes of the House of Brunswic, upon the death of Duke George, had formed a treaty with the Emperor; and at length even the Hessians quitted them, in order to seek better quarters in Westphalia. The enemy profited by these calamitous circumstances, and though defeated with loss in two pitched battles, succeeded in making a considerable progress in Lower Saxony.

At length appeared the new Swedish generalissimo with fresh troops and money. This was Torstenson, a pupil of Gustavus Adolphus, and his most successful imitator, who had been his page during the Polish war. Although a martyr to the gout, and labouring under this most severe complaint, he displayed more activity than his enemy: under him the theatre of war was changed, and new maxims were adopted, which necessity required and the

the iſſue juſtified. Auſtria's territories had not yet felt the miſeries which raged in the reſt of Germany; it was Torſtenſon who first procured Auſtria that bitter experience.

In Sileſia the enemy had gained conſiderable advantages over the Swediſh general Stalhantſch, and drove him to Neumark; Torſtenſon, who joined the Swediſh army in Lunenburg, called him to his aſſiſtance, and in the year 1642, marched through Brandenburg into Sileſia, where the former, under the great Elector, began to maintain a neutrality. Glogau was taken by ſtorm, without approaches or a breach; Francis Albert, Duke of Lauenburg, was defeated at Schweidnitz; on this occaſion that general was ſhot through the body, Schweidnitz taken, and all Sileſia upon the hither ſide of the Oder conquered. The Swedes now penetrated into Moravia, where no enemy of Auſtria had hitherto appeared, took Olmutz, and put even Vienna in conſternation.

Meanwhile the Archduke Leopold and Piccolomini had aſſembled a ſuperior force, which ſpeedily drove the Swediſh conquerors from Moravia, and, after a fruitleſs attempt upon Breig, from all Sileſia. Reinforced by Wrangel,

gel, the Swedes turned upon the enemy, and relieved Glogau; but they could neither bring the Imperialists to a battle, nor execute their own designs upon Bohemia. Torstenson now overrun Lusatia, where, in presence of the enemy, he took Zittau, and in a short time directed his march towards the Elbe, which he passed at Torgau: he threatened Leipzig with a siege, after that city had, during ten years, experienced none of those miseries with which the war afflicted the rest of Germany.

Leopold and Piccolomini instantly hastened to relieve Leipzig, and Torstenson, to avoid being enclosed between the enemy's army and the town, advanced against the Austrians in order of battle. By an unaccountable fatality, both armies met exactly at the same spot upon which Gustavus Adolphus, eleven years before, had eternized his memory by a decisive victory, and the former intrepidity encouraged the present combatants to equal it by a noble emulation. The Swedish generals Stalhantsch and Willenberg rushed with such impetuosity against the left wing of the Austrians, which had not as yet regularly formed, that their horse was put into confusion, and that division of the Imperial army was separated from the

cavalry

cavalry which covered it, and was routed: but the left of the Swedes was threatened with a ſimilar fate, when the victorious right wing haſtened to its aſſiſtance, took the enemy in flank and rear, and divided the Auſtrian lines. The infantry on both ſides, after expending their ammunition, engaged in a furious conflict, until the Auſtrians, at length ſurrounded upon every ſide, were, after a conteſt of three hours, compelled to abandon the field. The generals of both armies did their utmoſt to rally their flying troops, and the Archduke Leopold was the firſt who came with his regiments to the attack, as well as the laſt who fled. This victory coſt the Swedes above 3000 men, together with two of their beſt generals, Schlangen and Lilienhoeck; near 5000 of the Auſtrians remained dead upon the field, and an equal number were taken priſoners; their entire artillery, conſiſting of forty-ſix cannon, the ſilver plate and archives of the Archduke, fell into the conqueror's hands. Torſtenſon, diſabled too much by his victory to purſue the enemy, advanced to Leipzig; the defeated army retired to Bohemia, where the diſperſed regiments reaſſembled. The Archduke Leopold could not bear this defeat; and a regiment of cavalry, which by its early flight occaſioned the diſaſter,

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particularly felt his indignation; he publicly at Raconitz, in presence of the army, declared it infamous, took away its horses, arms, and insignia, ordered its standards to be torn, condemned to death several of the officers, and decimated the private men.

Leipzig itself, which surrendered three weeks after, was the most brilliant consequence of this victory; the city was obliged to clothe the Swedish army anew, and a tax of 300,000 rix-dollars was imposed upon the foreign merchants who had their warehouses in the city, to redeem them from plunder. Torstenson advanced in the middle of winter against Freyberg, bid defiance to the inclemency of the season for several weeks before that town, and hoped by his perseverance to conquer the resolution of the garrison; but he only fruitlessly sacrificed his men, and the approach of the Imperial general Piccolomini compelled him to abandon his enterprise; he, however, regarded it as an advantage to have disturbed the enemy in their winter-quarters, and made them lose 3000 horses. He now turned towards the Oder, in order to reinforce himself by the garrisons of Silesia and Pomerania; but he suddenly returned to Bohemia, traversed that kingdom,

and relieved Olmutz, which was threatened by the Imperialiſts. In his camp at Doditſchau, two miles from Olmutz, he commanded all Moravia, raiſed heavy contributions, and made excurſions as far as Vienna; it was in vain that the Emperor armed the nobility of Hungary to defend that province; theſe claimed their privileges, and refuſed to quit their native country; time was loſt by negotiation, and the entire province was abandoned to the fury of the Swedes.

While Torſtenſon aſtoniſhed Europe by his progreſs, the allied army had not remained inactive in another part of the Empire. The Heſſians and the troops of Weimar had fallen into the electorate of Cologn, under Count Erberſtein, in order to take up their winter-quarters in that biſhopric; to rid himſelf of thoſe troubleſome gueſts, the Elector called to his aid the Imperial general Hatzfeld, and aſſembled his own troops under General Lamboy. Theſe the allies attacked at Kempen, in January 1642, and totally defeated them in a great battle, wherein 2000 were killed, and double that number taken priſoners. This important victory opened the entrance into the electorate, and the allies were not only able

to maintain their winter-quarters there, but to draw from the country great ſupplies of men and horſes.

Guebriant left the Heſſians to defend their conqueſts upon the Lower Rhine againſt Hatzfeld, and advanced towards Thuringia, with a view to ſecond the progreſs of Torſtenſon; but inſtead of joining the Swedes, he retired to the Maine and Rhine, from which he had too far removed. As the Bavarians under Mercy and John de Werth were arrived before him in the margraviate of Baden, he was under the neceſſity of wandering for ſeveral weeks in the open air, amid all the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, until he at length took up his winter-quarters in Briſgau after a diſaſtrous expedition. In the enſuing ſummer he indeed occupied the Bavarian army in Suabia in ſuch a manner that it could not relieve Thionville, which was beſieged by the Prince of Condé; he was at length, however, driven into Alſace, where he awaited a reinforcement.

The death of Cardinal Richelieu, which took place in 1642, and the ſubſequent change of the throne and of miniſtry, which the death of Louis XIII. occaſioned, withdrew the atten-

tion

tion of the French for ſome time from the tranſactions in Germany, and cauſed their inactivity in the field. But Mazarine inherited Richelieu's power, his principles, and projects; he followed the plans of his predeceſſor with redoubled zeal, however the French ſubjects were to ſuffer for the political greatneſs of their nation. If Richelieu employed his principal force againſt Spain, Mazarine turned it againſt the Emperor; and the care with which he carried on the war, ſhowed that he conſidered the German armies as the beſt ſhield of France. Immediately after the ſiege of Thionville he detached a conſiderable reinforcement to the aſſiſtance of Field-marſhal Guebriant in Alſace; and in order to inſpire his troops with the greater ardour, the famous conqueror at Rocroi, the Duke of Enguien, afterwards Prince of Condé, was placed at their head. Guebriant now felt himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to appear again with reputation in Germany; he accordingly paſſed the Rhine with a view of procuring better winter-quarters in Suabia, and actually made himſelf maſter of Rothweil, where the Bavarian magazine fell into his hands. But this place coſt more than it was worth, and was recovered more ſpeedily than it had been taken; Guebriant received a wound in the

arm,

arm, which the unſkilfulneſs of his ſurgeon rendered mortal; and the greatneſs of his loſs was perceived on the very day of his death.

The French army, viſibly diminiſhed by this expedition in a ſevere ſeaſon, had, after the capture of Rothweil, withdrawn to the neighbourhood of Duttlingen, where, without expecting an attack, they lay in great ſecurity. Meanwhile the enemy aſſembled a formidable force to prevent the French from approaching near Bavaria, and to ſave the country from their ravages. The Imperialiſts under Hatzſeld joined the Bavarians under Mercy; and even the Duke of Lorrain, who, during the whole courſe of this war, is found every where but in his own dutchy, joined the combined armies with his troops. It was reſolved to beat up the French quarters in Duttlingen and the neighbouring villages. This was during the war a very favourite ſpecies of expedition, and being commonly accompanied with confuſion, coſt the lives of more men than a regular battle. The French ſoldier upon this occaſion was unaccuſtomed to the ſeverity of the German winter, and being totally unprepared

pared for ſuch an undertaking, never thought of a ſurpriſe. John de Werth, who was eſteemed a maſter in this ſpecies of warfare, and who had been lately exchanged for Guſtavus Horn, commanded the attempt, and ſucceeded, contrary to every expectation.

The attack was made on a ſide where it was leaſt expected, by reaſon of the woods and numerous hollow ways; and a violent ſnow which fell upon the ſame day (the 24th of November 1643) concealed the approach of the vanguard until it halted before Duttlingen. All the artillery without the place, together with the caſtle of Hemburg, was taken without reſiſtance; Duttlingen itſelf was ſoon after ſurrounded by the army, and its communication cut off with the adjacent villages. The French were vanquiſhed without firing a cannon: their cavalry owed their ſafety to a ſpeedy flight; their infantry were either cut in pieces or voluntarily laid down their arms. Near 2000 men were killed, and 7000, together with twenty ſtaff officers and ninety captains, ſurrendered as priſoners. This was, perhaps, the only victory in the whole war which made an equal impreſſion upon the party which gained and

and that which lost *: both were Germans, and it was the French who disgraced themselves. The memory of that unfortunate day, which was renewed a hundred years later at Rosbach, was indeed erased by the subsequent exploits of a Condé and a Turenne; but the Germans thought they had acquired much, and indemnified themselves for all the miseries which French politics brought, by casting a reflection upon their intrepidity.

This defeat of the French was, however, very pernicious to the Swedes, as the Emperor's army could now act united, and their enemies were considerably increased. Torstenson had suddenly abandoned Moravia in September 1643, and retired to Silesia. The cause of this step was a secret, and the strange direction of his marches

* The victory at Rosbach excited as much joy among the Austrians, as among the Prussians who gained it. National pride could not refrain from exultation at the idea of 22,000 Prussians seeing 60,000 French advance while they were quietly cooking their dinners, and afterwards defeating them. Towards the conclusion of the battle a Prussian dragoon had made a French soldier prisoner, when he saw an Austrian cuirassier behind him, with his sword uplifted to cut him down: "Brother German," cried the Prussian, "leave me the Frenchman."—"Aye, take him," answered the Austrian, and galloped away. *Trans.*

increased

increafed the general perplexity of men. From Silefia, after numberlefs circuits, he marched towards the Elbe, where the Auftrians followed him as far as Lufatia. He laid a bridge over the Elbe at Torgau, and fpread a report that he intended to penetrate through Meiffen into the Upper Palatinate and Bavaria. He alfo, at Barby, pretended to pafs the river, but meanwhile gradually retreated from the Elbe as far as Havelberg, where he aftonifhed his troops by informing them that he was to lead them againft the Danes in Holftein.

Chriftian IV. King of Denmark had long difplayed his jealoufy of the Swedes by the obftacles which he placed to the progrefs of their arms, the vexations which he laid upon their navigation in the Sound, the burdens which he impofed upon their commerce; and, by exceeding all bounds, at length excited their indignation. However dangerous it feemed to engage in a new war while the old was fo oppreffive, and while the Swedes funk even under their victories, the defire of revenge and an old antipathy furmounted every confideration, and the embarraffment in which they found themfelves was a new incentive to try their fortune againft the Danes

Matters

Matters were at length come to ſuch extremity, that the war was proſecuted only to procure ſubſiſtence and labour for the troops, and they only contended for winter-quarters, which were more valued than a deciſive victory. But almoſt all the provinces of Germany were laid waſte; they were deſtitute of proviſions, of men, and horſes—articles which Holſtein poſſeſſed in abundance. If the army could even be recruited in this province, and the cavalry newly mounted, the attempt was well repaid. It was of the utmoſt conſequence to check the pernicious influence of Denmark at the commencement of the negotiation, to delay the peace itſelf, which ſeemed not to favour Sweden; and when an indemnification came to be debated, to increaſe its conqueſts, and endeavour to preſerve them. The ill ſituation of Denmark juſtified ſtill greater projects, if ſuddenly executed. In fact, the ſecret was ſo well kept in Stockholm, that the Daniſh miniſter had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it; and neither France nor Holland was let into the ſcheme. The war was inſtantly commenced without a previous declaration, and Torſtenſon appeared in Holſtein before hoſtilities were expected. The Swedes inſtantly overran the dutchy, and made themſelves maſters of every ſtrong place, Renf-

burg

burg and Gluckſtadt excepted. Another army broke into Schonen, which ſurrendered without reſiſtance, and it was only the ſeverity of the ſeaſon which prevented the enemy from croſſing the Leſſer Baltic, and carrying the war into Fuhnen and Zealand. The Daniſh fleet was unſucceſsful at Femern, and the King himſelf, who was on board, loſt his right eye by a ſplinter. Cut off from all communication with his diſtant ally the Emperor, this king was on the point of ſeeing his dominions overrun by the Swedes, and of fulfilling an old prophecy attributed to the famous Tycho Brahe, viz. That Chriſtian IV. ſhould, in the year 1643, wander in great miſery from his dominions.

But the Emperor could not behold with indifference the Danes become ſubject to Sweden. Notwithſtanding the difficulties attending ſo long a march through deſolated provinces, he ſent his general, Gallas, who, after Piccolomini's reſignation, obtained the ſupreme command anew, with an army into Holſtein. Gallas accordingly appeared in that duchy, took Kiel, and hoped, after his junction with the Danes, to ſhut up the Swediſh army in Jutland. At the ſame time the Heſſians and

the

the Swedish general Koenigsmark were occupied by Hatzfeld and the Bishop of Bremen, son of Christian IV. The latter was obliged to go to Saxony, by reason of an attack upon Meissen: but Torstenson penetrated through the pass between Schleswig and Stapelholm, advanced with his augmented army against Gallas, whom he drove along the Elbe as far as Bernburg, where the Imperialists intrenched themselves. Torstenson passed the Sala, and took such a position in rear of the enemy as cut off their communications with Saxony and Bohemia. Hunger now began to destroy them in great multitudes; nor did their retreat to Magdeburg remedy their desperate situation. The cavalry, which endeavoured to effect its escape to Silesia, was overtaken and totally dispersed at Interbock, while the rest of the army, after a vain attempt to fight its way through the Swedes, was almost wholly destroyed near Magdeburg. A few thousand men, and the reputation of being a consummate master in the art of ruining an army, was all that Gallas brought back of his great force. After this unfortunate attempt to relieve him, the King of Denmark sued for a peace, which he accordingly obtained at Bremseboor, in the year 1645, under very hard conditions.

Torstenson

Torſtenſon cloſely purſued his victory. While his inferior generals Lilienſtern threatened Saxony, and Koenigſmark ſubdued all Bremen, he, at the head of 16,000 men and eighty pieces of cannon, broke into Bohemia, and once more endeavoured to remove the ſeat of war into the hereditary dominions of Auſtria. Ferdinand, upon receiving intelligence of this, repaired in perſon to Prague, in order, by his preſence, to encourage his ſubjects; and as a ſkilful general was ſo much wanted, and ſo little harmony reigned among the numerous commanders, he could the more eaſily aſſiſt their operations by being ſo near the ſcene. In conſequence of his orders Hatzfeld aſſembled the whole force of Auſtria and Bavaria, and, contrary to his opinion and deſire, formed the Emperor's laſt army in order of battle, oppoſite the approaching enemy at Iankowitz, on the 24th of February 1645. Ferdinand depended upon his cavalry, which was 3000 ſtronger than that of the Swedes, and ſtill more upon the promiſe of the Virgin Mary, who had appeared to him in a dream, and given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a complete victory.

Torſtenſon, who never conſidered the number of his enemy, was by no means intimidated by their ſuperiority. On the firſt attack, the left wing, which the general of the League, Goetz, had entangled in a very diſadvantageous ſituation among dikes and thickets, was totally routed, the general himſelf with the greater part of his men killed, and almoſt all the ammunition of the army taken. This unfortunate commencement decided the fate of the day. TheSwedes, continually advancing, gained ſome important heights, and at the end of a bloody conteſt which laſted eight hours, after a vigorous attack of the Imperial cavalry, and a brave reſiſtance of the infantry, they remained maſters of the field. Two thouſand Auſtrians were killed upon the ſpot, and Hatzfeld with 3000 of his men were taken priſoners. Thus did the Emperor in one day loſe his beſt general and his laſt army.

This victory at Iankowitz at once expoſed to the enemy all the ſtates of Auſtria. Ferdinand haſtily fled to Vienna, in order to provide for its ſafety, and ſave his family and his treaſure. In a ſhort time the Swedes broke into Moravia and Auſtria with great impetuoſity. After they had conquered almoſt all Moravia, inveſted

vested Brinn, and possessed themselves of every strong hold as far as the Danube, and at length taken the intrenchments at the Wolf's Bridge near Vienna, they appeared before that capital; and the care which they took to fortify their conquests promised no short visit. After a long and destructive circuit through the different provinces of the German Empire, the war at length returned to where it commenced, and the thunder of the Swedish artillery reminded the inhabitants of Vienna of those balls which twenty-seven years before the Bohemian rebels fired against the Imperial residence. Former scenes were also renewed. Bethlen Gabor's successor, Ragotzy, was invited by Torstenson to his aid, as his predecessor had been by the rebellious Bohemians. He immediately overran Upper Hungary with his troops, and his junction with the Swedes was daily apprehended. The Elector of Saxony, driven to necessity by the Swedes taking up their quarters in his territories, and abandoned by the Emperor, who, after the defeat at Iankowitz, was unable to defend himself, at length embraced the only expedient which remained, and concluded with the Swedes a cessation of hostilities which was renewable every year. The Emperor thus lost an ally while an enemy entered his

 territories,

territories, his armies were going to decay, and his confederates were defeated in the other extremity of Germany. The French had effaced the ſhame of their defeat at Duttlingen by a brilliant campaign, and occupied the whole force of Bavaria on the Rhine and in Suabia. Reinforced by troops from France, which Turenne, who had already gained renown by his victories in Italy, brought to the Duke of Enguien, the French appeared before Freyburg on the 3d of Auguſt 1644; that town having been ſhortly before taken by Mercy, and covered by him with his whole army ſtrongly intrenched. But all the impetuoſity of the French failed againſt the firmneſs of the Bavarians; and the Duke of Enguien was at length compelled to retire, after an uſeleſs ſacrifice of 6000 of his men. Mazarine ſhed tears on hearing this great loſs, which the heart of Condé, callous to every paſſion but that of glory, little valued: *The ſtrumpets of Paris*, he was heard to ſay, *will ſupply the loſs in one night*. Neverthelеſs the Bavarians were ſo exhauſted by this murderous battle, that they were not in a condition to relieve Auſtria, nor even defend the banks of the Rhine. Spires, Worms, and Manheim ſurrendered; and the ſtrong fortreſs of Philipſburg was taken by famine. Even Mentz

Mentz haſtened by a timely ſurrender to diſarm the conquerors.

Auſtria and Moravia were ſaved from Torſtenſon as they had already been from the Bohemians. Ragotzy had advanced at the head of 25,000 of his troops, near the Swediſh camp; but theſe wild undiſciplined hordes only ravaged the country, and cauſed a great want of proviſions in the army, inſtead of aſſiſting Torſtenſon by any vigorous enterpriſe. To render the Emperor anxious for his revenues, and the ſubjects for their property, was Ragotzy's deſign, as it had been that of Bethlen Gabor; and each returned home after obtaining his ends. Ferdinand granted the barbarian whatever conditions he demanded, and ſaved himſelf, by a ſmall ſacrifice of territory, from the indignation of that formidable enemy.

The principal force of the Swedes had, in the mean time, greatly exhauſted itſelf in a tedious encampment before Brinn. Torſtenſon, who commanded, exhauſted, during four entire months, his whole ſyſtem of attack. The defence equalled the attack, and deſpair augmented the reſolution of the Governor de

 Souches,

Souches, a Swediſh deſerter who expected no mercy. The ravages which were made by ſickneſs, want, and hardſhip, the uſual conſequences of a tedious encampment, together with the departure of the Tranſylvanians, at length compelled the Swediſh general to raiſe the ſiege. All the paſſes towards the Danube were occupied, but, as his army was diminiſhed by hunger and ſickneſs, he relinquiſhed his plan of operations againſt Auſtria and Moravia, and contented himſelf with leaving garriſons in the ſtrong places he had taken, in order to maintain the entry into both thoſe provinces, and marched towards Bohemia, where he was followed by the Imperialiſts under the Archduke Leopold. Such places as he had not recovered were taken after his departure by the Auſtrian general Bucheim, ſo that the following year the frontiers of Auſtria were fully delivered from the enemy, and Vienna, which trembled for its ſafety, was relieved from its conſternation. Even in Bohemia and Sileſia the Swedes only maintained themſelves with various ſucceſs, and traverſed both countries without being able to preſerve a footing in them. But if Torſtenſon's deſigns were not accompanied with all the ſucceſs which they promiſed in the commencement, they had the moſt important

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consequences for the Swedish party. Denmark was compelled to a peace, Saxony to a neutrality; the Emperor was brought to greater concessions, France became more complaisant, and the behaviour of Sweden towards both these powers was more bold and circumspect. Having performed his duty in the most brilliant manner, the general, crowned with laurels, returned to the station of a private man, and sought by retirement to recover his health.

The Emperor, after Torstenson's retreat, saw himself secured from an irruption into Bohemia; but a new danger soon approached from Suabia and Bavaria. Turenne, who had divided his force from Condé, was, in 1645, near Mergentheim, totally defeated by Mercy, and the victorious Bavarians entered Hesse Cassel under their intrepid leader. But Condé hastened with considerable succours from Alsace, Koenigsmark from Moravia, and the Hessians from the Rhine, to recruit the defeated army, and the Bavarians were in their turn compelled to retreat to the extremity of Suabia. They posted themselves at Allersheim, near Nordlingen, in order to cover the confines of Bavaria; but the impetuosity of Condé was checked by no obstacle; he led on his troops against the

enemy's intrenchments, and a bloody battle ensued, which the heroic resistance of the Bavarians rendered the most obstinate and murderous, and at length, by the death of the great Mercy *, the courage of Turenne, and the firmness of the Hessians, terminated in favour of the allies. But this second barbarous sacrifice of men had little effect either upon the progress of the war or the negotiations for peace; the French army, diminished by such an obstinate battle, was still more so by the departure of the Hessians; and the Archduke Leopold brought so many Imperial reinforcements to the Bavarians, that Turenne was immediately obliged to retire over the Rhine.

* This was the man upon whose tomb the beautiful motto, so much celebrated by Voltaire and other modern writers, was engraved:

Siste viator, heroem calcas!

Stop, traveller, you tread on a hero!

He was one of the most illustrious of modern generals; nothing could be a greater proof of it than his beating the celebrated Turenne. Had he not, while giving his orders from a steeple in the village which was set on fire, been unfortunately killed by a random shot, he would, upon this occasion, have certainly maintained the field of battle. Condé was wounded in the arm, and the Bavarians made a brilliant retreat with seventy colours they had taken from the enemy. Turenne and Condé had the respect to visit the place of his interment. *Trans.*

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The retreat of the French now enabled the enemy to turn his entire force againſt the Swedes in Bohemia. Wrangel, a worthy ſucceſſor of Bannier and Torſtenſon, had obtained the chief command of the Swediſh army in 1646, which, beſides Koenigſmark's flying corps, and the different garriſons diſperſed through the Empire, amounted to 8000 horſe and 15,000 foot. After the Archduke Leopold had reinforced his army of 24,000 men with twelve regiments of Bavarian cavalry and eighteen of infantry, he advanced againſt Wrangel, and expected to overpower him with his ſuperior force before Koenigſmark could join him, or the French make a diverſion. But the Swede did not await him, and he haſtened through Upper Saxony to the Weſer, where he took Hoexter and Paderborn: from thence he marched to Heſſe Caſſel, in order to join Turenne, and in his camp at Wetzlar was joined by the flying corps of Koenigſmark. But Turenne, reſtrained by the inſtructions of Mazarine, who became jealous of the martial proweſs and increaſing power of the Swedes, excuſed himſelf from the preſſing neceſſity of defending the frontiers of France towards the Netherlands, ſince the Dutch did not make the diverſion they had promiſed. But as Wrangel

perſiſted

persisted in his just demands, and as a further refusal would have excited a distrust on the part of the Swedes, and perhaps have led them to conclude a private treaty with the Emperor, Turenne at length received the desired orders to join the Swedish army.

The junction took place at Giessen, and they now felt themselves in sufficient strength to oppose the enemy. The latter had followed the Swedes to Hesse, where they endeavoured to intercept the convoys, and to prevent their junction with Turenne; both these designs failed, and the Imperialists now saw themselves cut off from the Maine, and reduced to great distress by the loss of their magazines. Wrangel took advantage of their distress, in order to execute a plan which was intended to give the war another turn; he had also adopted the maxim of his predecessors, to carry the war into the Austrian territories; but discouraged by the ill success of Torstenson's enterprise, he expected to attain his ends by a safer method. He accordingly determined to follow the course of the Danube, and to advance against the frontiers of Austria from the centre of Bavaria: a similar plan had formerly been laid by Gustavus Adolphus, but which could not

not be executed, having been ſuddenly called away from his victorious progreſs by Wallenſtein's army, and the danger which threatened Saxony. His footſteps were purſued by the Duke of Weimar, who, more fortunate than Guſtavus Adolphus, had carried his victorious arms between the Iſer and the Inn; but he was alſo compelled to retire by the approach of his numerous enemies. Wrangel now hoped to be able to accompliſh this object, as the Imperial-Bavarian armies were far in his rear on the river Lahn, and could only arrive in Bavaria by a very long march through Franconia and the Upper Palatinate: he ſuddenly marched towards the Danube, defeated a body of Bavarians near Donauwerth, and paſſed that river, as alſo the Lech, without oppoſition; but by fruitleſsly laying ſiege to Augſburg, he gained time for the Imperialiſts not only to relieve that city, but even to repulſe him as far as Lauingen. But while, in order to remove the ſeat of war from Bavaria, the enemy turned towards Suabia, he took the opportunity to repaſs the Lech, which was defenceleſs, and maintained it againſt the Imperialiſts. Bavaria now lay expoſed; French and Swedes immediately overran it, and indemnified themſelves for all their paſt dangers by the moſt cruel ravages;

ravages; the arrival of the Imperial-Bavarian armies, which at length paſſed the Lech at Thierhaupten, only augmented the miſeries of a country which was indiſcriminately plundered by friends and enemies.

It was now, for the firſt time, that the firmneſs of Maximilian began to abate, after having, during twenty-eight years, braved every calamity. Ferdinand II. his ſchool-fellow at Ingolſtadt, and the companion of his youth, was no more; and with the death of that friend and benefactor, his attachment was in a great meaſure withdrawn from Auſtria. Private friendſhip and gratitude had attached him to the father; ſtate intereſt alone could connect him with the ſon, to whom he was a ſtranger.

It was by political conſiderations that French duplicity now ſought to detach him from the alliance of Auſtria, and prevailed upon him to lay down his arms. It was not without a great deſign that Mazarine concealed his jealouſy of the increaſing power of the Swedes, and permitted the French to accompany them to Bavaria. That country was deſtined to experience all the miſeries of war, in order to overcome the Elector's firmneſs, and to deprive the Em-

peror of his moſt powerful ally. Brandenburg had, under its great Elector, embraced a neutrality; Saxony was compelled to the ſame ſtep; the Spaniards were forced, by a war with France, to relinquiſh every ſhare in that of Germany; Denmark had concluded a peace, and Poland prolonged its ceſſation of hoſtilities. If the Elector of Bavaria could be detached from the alliance of Auſtria, the Emperor was expoſed to inevitable deſtruction.

Ferdinand III. ſaw his danger, and left no means untried to avert the ſtorm; but the Elector had been perſuaded that the Spaniards alone prevailed upon the Emperor to oppoſe the peace. Maximilian hated the Spaniards mortally, becauſe they had reſiſted his attempt to procure the Palatinate; it was by no means his intention to expoſe himſelf to ruin for ſo ungrateful a power, and he thought he ſhould ſufficiently fulfil his duty to the Emperor by embracing a neutral ſyſtem.

The deputies of the three crowns, and of Bavaria, aſſembled at Ulm, in order to conclude a ceſſation of hoſtilities. The inſtructions of the Auſtrian ambaſſador, however, ſoon ſhowed that it was not the Emperor's intention

intention to bring the congreſs to a pacific concluſion: the Swedes, who had every thing to hope from a continuance of the war, were not inclined to bear unfavourable conditions; they were conquerors, and ſtill the Emperor ſeemed diſpoſed to dictate to them. In the firſt tranſports of indignation, their deputies would have left the congreſs if the French had not had recourſe to threats.

After the Elector of Bavaria's good intentions had failed to conclude a peace for the Emperor, he thought it time to provide for himſelf; whatever might be his ſacrifices, he conſidered it his duty to abandon the war. He agreed that the Swedes ſhould extend their quarters in Suabia and Franconia, and confined his own to Bavaria and the Palatinate; his conqueſts in Suabia were exchanged for thoſe which the Swedes had made in Bavaria: Cologn and Heſſe Caſſel were alſo included in this ceſſation of hoſtilities. After the concluſion of this treaty, upon the 14th of March 1647, the French and Swedes retired to ſeparate winter-quarters, the former in the dutchy of Wirtemberg, and the latter in Upper Suabia, near the lake of Bode. At the northern extremity of that lake, and the ſouthern frontier of Sua-

bia,

bia, the Austrian town of Bregentz defied every attack by its steep and narrow passes; and the neighbouring people had, with their property, taken refuge in it from all quarters for security. The probability of a rich booty, and the advantage of obtaining a pass into Tirol, Switzerland, and Italy, determined the Swedish general to venture an attack upon this important place; he succeeded, although six thousand peasants attempted to defend the pass against him. In the mean time Turenne had, according to agreement, marched towards Wirtemberg, where he forced the Landgrave of Darmstadt and the Elector of Mentz to embrace a neutrality after the example of Bavaria.

French policy now seemed to have obtained its ends in withdrawing from the Emperor all his allies, and compelling him to a peace. That once so powerful prince had only an army of 12,000 men remaining; and as he had lost his best generals, he was compelled to intrust the command of these to a Calvinist, Melander, a deserter from the Hessians. But by a fortune peculiar to this war, the events of which often deceived the calculations of policy, the apparently ruined force of Austria reassumed a dangerous superiority. The jealousy of France towards the

the Swedes did not permit it to ſuffer the latter entirely to ruin the Emperor and obtain a footing in the German Empire, which might prove fatal to the French themſelves; no advantage was therefore taken of the diſtreſs of Auſtria; and Turenne's army, ſeparating from that of Wrangel, marched to the borders of the Netherlands. Wrangel endeavoured, after he had entered Franconia, where he took Schweinfurt, and enrolled its Imperial garriſon among his troops, to penetrate into Bohemia, and had laid ſiege to Egra, the key to that kingdom. To relieve that town, the Emperor in perſon advanced with his laſt army; but being obliged to make a conſiderable circuit, in order to ſpare the eſtates of the preſident of the council of war, the march was prolonged, and before he arrived, Egra was already taken. Both armies approached ſo cloſe to each other, that a deciſive battle was expected, eſpecially as the Imperialiſts were the more numerous; but the latter contented themſelves with haraſſing the Swedes by hunger, ſkirmiſhes, and fatiguing marches, until the Emperor had attained his wiſhes by the negotiations which he opened with Bavaria.

The

The neutrality of Bavaria inflicted a wound which the Court of Vienna could never pardon, and which, after fruitless endeavours to prevent, it resolved, if possible, to turn to advantage. A multitude of Bavarian officers were upon this occasion deprived of employment, and consequently absolved from their allegiance; even the brave General de Werth was among the discontented, and formed a plot to deliver the Bavarian army to the Emperor, who encouraged him to that step. Ferdinand was not ashamed to favour this piece of treachery against his father's most faithful ally; he formally issued a proclamation recalling the Bavarian troops from their allegiance, and reminding them that they belonged to the Empire, and were only raised by the Elector by Imperial authority. Fortunately for Maximilian, he discovered the conspiracy in sufficient time to be able, by the most vigorous efforts, to impede its execution.

Such faithless conduct might have justified reprisals; but Maximilian was too old a statesman to listen to the voice of passion where policy alone was concerned. He had not procured by the truce the advantages which he expected; so far from accelerating a peace, his neutrality had a pernicious influence

 upon

upon the negotiations at Munſter and Oſnaburg, where the allied powers increaſed their demands, conſcious of their ſuperiority. The French and Swedes were removed from Bavaria; but by loſing his quarters in Suabia, he ſaw himſelf obliged to maintain his troops at home, if he did not altogether diſband them, and expoſe his dominions at ſuch a critical conjuncture to every invader. Before he embraced either of thoſe dangerous alternatives, he reſolved to break the neutrality, and once more take up arms.

This reſolution, and the immediate ſuccour which he ſent the Emperor, compelled Wrangel to evacuate Bohemia. He retired through Thuringia towards Weſtphalia and Lunenburg, in order to join the French forces under Turenne, and was followed by the Imperial-Bavarian army under Melander and Gronsfeld as far as the Weſer. His ruin was inevitable if overtaken by the enemy before he had formed a junction with Turenne; but the Swedes were ſaved upon this occaſion as the Emperor had formerly been; the Court liſtened to the maxims of ſound policy according as it beheld the approach of peace; the Elector of Bavaria could not ſafely appear to contribute ſo much

to

to the ſuperiority of the Emperor, and this circumſtance haſtened the peace. A change of fortune might delay the treaty for ſeveral years, and perhaps poſtpone the tranquillity of all Europe; if France retained Sweden within bounds, the Elector of Bavaria followed that example towards the Emperor, and by prudently withholding his aſſiſtance, remained maſter of the fate of Auſtria. The power of the Emperor threatened at once to obtain a dangerous ſuperiority, when Maximilian ſuddenly refuſed to purſue the Swedes; he alſo feared the repriſals of France, which threatened to ſend all Turenne's army againſt him if he attempted to paſs the Weſer.

Melander, prevented by the Bavarians from purſuing Wrangel further, marched through Jena and Erfurt againſt Heſſe Caſſel, and now appeared as a dangerous enemy in a country which he had once defended. If it was vengeance which excited him to render that country the ſcene of devaſtation, he indulged his paſſion to the utmoſt. The miſeries of that unhappy country became exceſſive. But the ravager had ſoon occaſion to repent of his ſubſtituting revenge for prudence; his army diminiſhed in the exhauſted country of Heſſe, while

Wrangel collected fresh forces in Lunenburg, and new mounted his cavalry. Too weak to maintain his quarters when the Swedish general opened the campaign in the winter of 1648, and advanced towards Cassel, he was constrained with disgrace to retire, and seek safety upon the banks of the Danube.

France had once more deceived the Swedes; and Turenne's army, notwithstanding Wrangel's remonstrances, retired towards the Rhine: the Swedish general resented this by ordering the cavalry of Weimar to join him, who had left the French service, and by that step increased the jealousy of France. At length Turenne obtained permission to join the Swedes, and the united armies opened the last campaign of this war. They pursued Melander to the Danube, threw supplies into Egra, which was then besieged by the Imperialists, and beat the Imperial-Bavarian army upon the side of the Danube at Susmarshausen. Melander in this action was mortally wounded, and Gronsfeld posted himself upon the other side of the Lech, in order to prevent the enemy's entrance into Bavaria.

But

But Gronsfeld was not more fortunate than Tilly, who had sacrificed his life in this same post for the preservation of Bavaria. Wrangel and Turenne chose the same spot for passing the river which was distinguished by the victory of Gustavus Adolphus, and succeeded by the advantages which had favoured the latter; Bavaria was once more overrun, and the breach of the treaty punished by the utmost severity towards the Bavarians. Maximilian took refuge in Saltzburg, while the Swedes passed the Iser as far as the Inn; a violent rain, which in a few days swelled this otherwise inconsiderable river to an uncommon height, once more saved Austria from the impending danger; the enemy attempted ten different times to lay a bridge of boats over the Inn, and as often failed. Never were the Catholics in such consternation as upon the present occasion, when the enemy was in the centre of Bavaria, and they no longer possessed a general who could be compared to a Turenne, a Wrangel, or a Koenigsmark. At length the brave Piccolomini arrived from the Netherlands to assume the command of the feeble remains of the Imperialists; the ravages which the allies committed in Bavaria had rendered it impossible for them to subsist longer in that country, and obliged them to retire

retire to the Upper Palatinate, where the intelligence of peace put an end to their future operations.

Koenigſmark advanced with a flying corps towards Bohemia, where Erneſt Odovalſky, a captain of cavalry, who had reſigned after having been diſabled in the Imperial ſervice without receiving any penſion, laid before him a plan to ſurpriſe the ſmaller part of Prague. Koenigſmark ſucceeded in this attempt, and thereby obtained the honour of having cloſed the thirty years war by the laſt memorable action. This deciſive blow, which at length overcame the Emperor's irreſolution, only coſt the Swedes one man; the old town, the greater half of which is divided by the river Moldaw from the new, occupied by its reſiſtance the Count Palatine Charles Guſtavus, the ſucceſſor of Chriſtina to the throne, who had arrived with freſh troops from Sweden when the entire Swediſh army in Bohemia and Sileſia appeared before its walls. The approach of winter at length compelled the beſiegers to go into quarters, where they received intelligence that the peace was ſigned on the 24th of October at Munſter and Oſnaburg.

The

The coloſſal labour of concluding this famous, ever memorable, and holy treaty, which had to combat with the greateſt apparent obſtacles, which was to unite the moſt oppoſite intereſts; the concatenation of circumſtances which muſt have combined to terminate this painful and laborious effort of policy; what it coſt to open the negotiations amid the alternate viciſſitudes of a bloody war, and conclude them under every diſadvantage; what the conditions were of a peace which terminated a bloody war of thirty years, and the influence which it had upon the general ſyſtem of European policy: theſe muſt be left to another pen and a more convenient opportunity. The limits are already ſurpaſſed which the author of the preſent ſketch had originally propoſed; and however great the undertaking was to relate the hiſtory of the war, that of the peace of Weſtphalia is one of no leſs importance. The abridgment of ſuch an event could not here be given with the neceſſary brevity, without reducing to a ſkeleton the moſt intereſting and characteriſtic monument of human wiſdom and paſſions, and thereby depriving it of the attention of the public for which I write, and of which I now reſpectfully take my leave.

APPENDIX.

IT is much to be regretted that the author has left his history incomplete, and did not describe those memorable negotiations which terminated in the most famous of all modern treaties of peace. A subject of such importance, treated by such a master, must be of infinitely more use than the most elaborate descriptions of battles and sieges, which in all ages and circumstances betray a sameness, notwithstanding their apparent effect upon the transactions of men.

Some account of the principal characters mentioned in this ever-memorable war has been added, and it is hoped will not be wholly unacceptable.

AMELIA

AMELIA ELIZABETH, LANDGRAVINE OF HESSE CASSEL.

SHE was the daughter of Philip Louis, Count of Hanau, and eſpouſed the Landgrave of Caſſel, to whom ſhe was an example of conjugal affection, beſides poſſeſſing every beauty of perſon and accompliſhment of mind which could adorn the female ſex.

At the age of ſeventeen ſhe married a prince of merit, by whom ſhe had fifteen children. While her huſband was engaged in the general war, ſhe took every care to educate her children, and rendered her ſon William an excellent prince. On the death of her huſband, who was reported to have been poiſoned, ſhe aſſumed the adminiſtration, in conſequence of his will. Though her country, upon the death of the Landgrave, was threatened with deſtruction, not only by the Auſtrians but alſo by the claims of the Landgrave of Darmſtadt, ſhe ſaved it by her prudence until her poſſeſſions were ſecured by the Weſtphalian peace. In the year 1650 ſhe yielded the ſovereignty to her ſon, and dedicated the remainder of her days

days to peace and meditation. She died in the year 1651.

Few females have accompanied ſo much beauty and ſo many accompliſhments with ſuch rare abilities and virtues; nor did ſhe ever betray the weakneſs of a woman, notwithſtanding the imminent danger which ſo frequently terrified the princes of the Empire, and with which ſhe, in the courſe of this war, was ſo dangerouſly threatened.

BERNARD DUKE OF WEIMAR.

THIS celebrated hero was the youngeſt of nine ſons of John Duke of Weimar, and Dorothy Maria, Princeſs of Anhalt. He poſſeſſed an hereditary hatred towards Auſtria, as being directly deſcended from the Elector of Saxony who was deprived of his electoral dignity and the greater part of his ſtates by Charles V. (See Robertſon's Hiſtory.)

United in the closeſt friendſhip with Guſtavus Adolphus, he ſhowed himſelf not inferior to that conſummate general; and when the latter

latter had fallen at Lutzen he aſſumed the command: by manœuvres which diſplayed equal ſkill and intrepidity he obtained, over one of the moſt celebrated generals which Auſtria ever produced, a complete victory.

He died ſuddenly, not without ſuſpicions of poiſon, when he was about eſpouſing the Landgravine Amelia of Heſſe Caſſel. He united with his military talents extreme humanity; and, notwithſtanding his youth, diſplayed all the prudence of age. His genius ſeemed altogether to aſpire at ſomething vaſt and unbounded. If he reſembles any character in ancient hiſtory, it is Quintus Sertorius.

CHRISTINA QUEEN OF SWEDEN.

THAT princeſs was only ſix years old when her father fell at Lutzen. The adminiſtration of affairs, which, till her nineteenth year, had been managed by the Chancellor Oxenſtern, ſhe aſſumed in 1645. After having, in the commencement, applied herſelf with great zeal to ſtate affairs, ſhe afterwards neglected them,

and

and wholly devoted herſelf to literature, having invited a number of learned men to her court, among the reſt the celebrated Des Cartes. Her negligence occaſioned much diſadvantage to her ſubjects at the peace of Weſtphalia. The Swedes became diſcontented with her expending a large portion of her revenues in purchaſing the rarities of foreign countries, while ſhe neglected her more important concerns. In order to remedy this, the ſtates deſired ſhe would marry; which ſhe refuſed: and in the year 1651 formally declared ſhe would abdicate the throne, which ſhe actually did in the year 1654. She then went to Italy and France, where ſhe abjured the Proteſtant faith; and in the latter country was guilty of the atrocious crime of murdering Mondaleſchi, a gentleman of her ſuite who had revealed ſome of her amours, to which it appears ſhe was much addicted. It was fortunate for her, as Voltaire juſtly obſerves, that England was not the ſcene of this inhuman tranſaction. She afterwards made vain attempts to reaſcend the throne of Sweden, and died in the year 1689.

OXENSTERN.

THIS extraordinary man has been univerſally regarded as one of the greateſt ſtateſmen of modern times; and is one of thoſe who ſeldom have attained to the height of fortune, and of poſſeſſing throughout Europe an influence of which the greateſt ſovereigns can rarely boaſt. He was an admirer of literature; and it is aſſerted that the ſecond part of the Hiſtory of the Swediſh War in Germany, attributed to Bogiſlaus Philip of Chemnitz, is of his compoſition. He ſucceſsfully employed political writers in his ſtate affairs.

The character of this extraordinary man has been drawn by the Queen of Sweden, Chriſtina, in one of her manuſcripts.

" That great man," ſays ſhe, " had the " cleareſt underſtanding—the fruit of youthful " induſtry. In the midſt of his multifarious " affairs he read much. His penetration was " quick, and his knowledge of ſtate matters " was well grounded. He was acquainted " with the ſtrength and weakneſs of all the

" powers of Europe. He united with great " experience an extenſive genius and a great " ſoul. His activity was indefatigable. Buſi- " neſs was the amuſement even of his vacant " hours. He was temperate, as far as can be " applauded in an age and nation when this " was not yet become a virtue. He could be " tranquil notwithſtanding his extenſive occu- " pations. He affirmed that he ſpent only " two ſleepleſs nights in his life: the one upon " the death of Guſtavus Adolphus, and the " other at the defeat at Nordlingen. He al- " ways laid aſide his cares when he undreſſed " himſelf. He was at the ſame time ambitious " but diſintereſted: and the features of his " character were only disfigured by too great " a ſlowneſs and phlegm."

THE END.

Printed by S. Gosnell,
Little Queen Street, Holborn.